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THE

HISTORICAL WRITINGS

OF THE LATE

ORSAMUS H. MARSHALL

RELATING TO THE

EARLY HISTORY OF THE WEST

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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ALBANY, N. Y.
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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

A few words are perhaps necessary in explanation of some of the references to be found in the Index Rerum.

Dr. Peter Wilson a Cayuga chief, and Nathaniel T. Strong a Seneca chief who are often referred to, were educated Indians, who resided upon the Cattaraugus Reservation, and were in frequent correspondence with Mr. Marshall upon Indian matters.

Seneca White was a half breed, son of John White a white chief, a white captive, adopted by the Indians. He died at an advanced age in 1864.

Conjockety was a descendant of the Kah-kwas, and lived for many years upon Conjockety creek near Buffalo. He died in 1866 upwards of 100 years old.

Blacksmith, occasionally referred to, was a celebrated chief who resided on the Tonawanda Reservation. He spoke only in his native tongue and all information obtained from him was through an interpreter.

Ely Parker, Nicholas H. Parker, M. B. Pierce, Moses Stevenson, and others to whom reference is occasionally made, were all well educated representative Indians, with whom Mr. Marshall had frequent interviews, and occasional correspondence. Ely Parker became well known during the war of the Rebellion as Gen. Grant's chief of staff.

Rev. Asher Wright and Mrs. Wright were for many years missionaries among the Senecas upon the Cattaraugus Reservation, Mr. Wright died in 1875, and his widow survived him about ten years, continuing her missionary work until her death. Mr. Wright translated the four Gospels into Seneca, and Mrs. Wright published a collection of Seneca hymns. Both were thoroughly versed in the Seneca tongue, and their letters are often referred to in the Index.

The Paris and London "Notes" and "Mems" of which mention is frequently made, consist of manuscript notes and memoranda made by Mr. Marshall from manuscript maps, journals, etc., found in the Paris and London libraries, during a trip to Europe in the year 1877.

There are undoubtedly, errors and probably erroneous citations in the "Index Rerum." It has been impossible to verify them all, and some confusion may arise out of the fact that the particular editions of the "Relation of the Jesuits," to which reference is often made are not always given; but it must be borne in mind that the "Index" was compiled by Mr. Marshall for his private use, with no expectation of its publication, and it is included in the present collection solely in the hope that it may be of some assistance to those who are working in the same field of historical research to which Mr. Marshall's labors were directed.

CHARLES D. MARSHALL.

INTRODUCTION.

"His walk through life was marked by every grace;
His soul sincere, his friendship void of guile.
Long shall remembrance all his virtues trace,
And fancy picture his benignant smile."

IN the summer of 1860, feeling diffident in regard to the merits of my unfinished *Life of Sir William Johnson*, I sent a few of its chapters to Orsamus H. Marshall, of Buffalo (to whom I was at the time a perfect stranger, though, of course, he was not unknown to me), with the request that he would kindly examine the manuscript, and give me his opinion as to the advisability of its publication. His letter in reply was so kind and so full of genial encouragement—as well as that of Mr. Francis Parkman, of Boston, to whom I had also written—that the work was completed and given to the public. This was the beginning of a friendship terminated only by the recent and lamented death of Mr. Marshall. The niche which this christian gentleman filled in the social, literary and business world, and the fact that he has left a wide circle of friends to whom his name is endeared by many tender and pleasing recollections, seem to

justify me in introducing to the reader those of his works which commend themselves more particularly to every lover of American history.

Mr. Marshall has deservedly won high rank as an historical writer, and in his own particular province stands, perhaps, without a rival. What the term *genre* expresses as applied to paintings, may with equal force be used to illustrate the character of his writings. He chose chiefly for his subjects the aboriginals of Western New York, and the early explorers—subjects fraught with all the elements of picturesque romance, and the attractiveness which surrounds narratives of adventure and personal prowess; and the results of his fidelity in searching for original authorities, and in clearing from false exaggeration and obscurity the real story, are presented in a style always agreeable, and with a minuteness of detail which has given to his many historical monographs and contributions to magazine literature an authoritative value. The old documents, "crisp with age and covered with the dust of centuries," which he has collected, and for the first time turned to account in the matter of verification and illustration, take us behind the scenes and show us the wires, which, pulled by Louis XIV. and his ministers, made their puppets in the New World dance.

For many years it seems to have been taken for granted that America had no unwritten history; and the inertness, consequent upon this belief, had the natural effect to per-

petuate the impression by preventing any effort to gather up and preserve the records of the past. This apathy has now been succeeded by a zeal as ardent as it has hitherto been cold. Nearly every State has a society devoted to putting into durable form for posterity its history; and many counties have, likewise, organizations for preserving local history which turn their knowledge over to the larger societies of their respective states. Of these, the Historical Societies of New York, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Vermont and Pennsylvania are especially active; and it is astonishing to see the vast amount of valuable information thus garnered, which, otherwise, would have been irretrievably lost. Nor is this thirst for historical research confined to public bodies. In several of our large cities clubs of a few wealthy individuals have been formed for the purpose of reprinting old and rare books and manuscripts. The benefits of these organizations are many. Persons of bibliographical tastes are enabled to procure, at a comparatively moderate price, valuable and otherwise inaccessible works; the development of the typographical art is stimulated; and rare and priceless manuscripts that have lain in musty garrets, a prey to the rats, and which ultimately must have been destroyed, are put into such a shape as will ensure them from perishing. When in Paris a few years ago Mr. Marshall spent much of his time in going through the archives containing remnants of the doings of the French government in Canada in connection with Indian

affairs. It was his opinion that those archives contained a wonderful amount of valuable material which would never be utilized until some one was paid to go there and collect it. Indeed, the amount of invaluable manuscripts which at the present time, are stowed away in old chests and trunks and consigned to garrets and barns as lumber, can scarcely be realized by those who have not made the subject a study.

Mr. Marshall's numerous addresses before the Buffalo and other historical societies and his published writings have done much toward creating this recent taste for historical studies. His paper entitled "Champlain's Expedition against the Onondagas in 1615," which appeared as the leading article in the first issue of the "Magazine of American History" in January, 1877, was charmingly as well as ably written and attracted wide attention. Chief among his other works, which have also reached a large community of appreciative readers, may be mentioned the "Expedition of the Marquis de Nonville, in 1687, against the Senecas," issued by the New York Historical Society in vol. II of its new series; the "Expedition of De Celoron to the Ohio in 1749;" "La Salle's first visit to the Senecas in 1669" (privately printed in pamphlet form in 1874); "The Building and the Voyage of the *Griffon* in 1679;" read before, and published by, the Buffalo Historical Society and "Historical Sketches of the Niagara Frontier," also read before and published by the same Society, the dis-

tinguishing feature of each being the picturesque beauty with which dry historical facts are adorned, while truth is strictly preserved. Indeed, the notion of the old school of historians that history, to be correct, must necessarily be dull, has of late years been gradually passing away. Among American writers who have aided materially in bringing about this change, Bancroft, Parkman, Prescott and Marshall are preëminent. The stern pioneer warrior, with arquebus and mail, the friars with their rosaries and peaked hoods, the plumed Indian with tomahawk and gayly decorated quiver, pass before us, as we read Mr. Marshall's pages, like figures in the glittering pageant of a night; and were it not for the carefully collected foot-notes, which afford a sure test of the accuracy of the text, we should often think it a dream of romance rather than a chapter of stern history.

The period partially covered by Mr. Marshall's writings, like those of Mr. Parkman, is one of unique interest. Of the influences which were at work in founding New France, and of the facts themselves, comparatively little is known. It has been the generally received impression that the halo of romance surrounding the pioneers of the New World has been the result of this uncertainty, which a more accurate knowledge would at once dissipate. Parkman and Marshall, however, prove the contrary to be the case, and clearly show that the facts, when carefully studied

increase, rather than diminish, in picturesque charm and coloring. France—a century later than England—was just emerging from the bondage of feudalism. The *tiers état* was struggling into life, and the free burgesses were gradually forcing the nobility, under the pleasure-loving Louis XIII., to relinquish their grasp upon their baronial rights and privileges. At this point the discovery of the New World seemed to show a way of escape; and under the guise of traffic and adventure, feudalism sought to engraft upon new stock that which was fast withering upon the old. Some of the attempts and trials, the successes and failures, the sufferings and daring, which ensued while the experiment was in progress, are clearly shown by Mr. Marshall. Especially is this the case in "The Building and Voyage of the *Griffon*." The story of her voyage covers the early and dangerous explorations of La Salle, La Motte and Father Hennepin. "The humble pioneer of the vast fleets of our modern lake commerce," as Mr. Marshall happily expresses it, "now spread her sails to the auspicious breeze and commenced her perilous voyage. The vast inland seas, over which she was about to navigate, had never been explored, save by the canoe of the Indian, timidly coasting along their shores. Without chart to warn of hidden danger, she boldly plowed her way." The vessel was driven by violent gales north-westerly, and at length anchored in the calm waters of the bay of Missillimakinac. "Here," continues our author, "the voyagers

found a settlement composed of Hurons, Ottawas and a few Frenchmen. A bark-covered chapel bore the emblem of the cross, erected over a mission planted by the Jesuits. Like a dim taper, it shone with feeble light in a vast wilderness of Pagan darkness." Gladly would we accompany Mr. Marshall in his delineation of the career of La Salle, as that adventurous personage, with his companions, Hennepin, Tonty, La Motte and other kindred spirits, follows in, and widens the track of his predecessor, Marquette; but our limits forbid, and as after an hour spent in rapt admiration of some magnificent creation of an artist's pencil we fain would linger, but are compelled to turn away, comforting ourselves with the intention of soon coming again, so we must be content with his closing paragraph. The vessel, it appears, was finally lost—not the only disaster, but simply one of a series which befell this enterprising explorer—" yet his iron will was not subdued nor his impetuous ardor diminished. He continued to prosecute his discoveries under the most disheartening reverses, with a self-reliance and energy that never faltered. He was equal to every situation, whether sharing the luxuries of civilized life or the privations of the wilderness; whether contending with the snows of a Canadian winter or the burning heats of Texas; whether paddling his canoe along the northern lakes or seeking by sea for the mouth of the Mississippi. His eventful life embodied the elements

of a grand epic poem, full of romantic interest and graphic incident; alternating in success and failure, and culminating in a tragic death."

In Mr. Marshall's volumes, likewise, we catch full glimpses of the self-sacrificing devotion of the followers of Loyola in carrying out the work left by Champlain. We see them now pulling with strong arms their frail bark canoes against the rapids of the Canadian rivers, and again, elevating the Host before some sylvan altar—the brawny forms of the Indian braves bent in rapt surprise at the strange rite. To all persons interested in the vindication of the character of our aboriginals these writings peculiarly appeal. Mr. Marshall brought to his researches a benevolent nature, sympathizing with the Indians in all their misfortunes, and a fondness for traditions, which is the more interesting, as he had been brought into personal contact with their prominent leaders (Red Jacket, for example). Seen through the vista of prejudice the Indian, whom our ancestors first encountered, is more or less a hideous creature of cruelty; and the Puritan exile, while he calmly burns out the tongue of a Quaker for a religious difference holds up to pious horror the savage who scalps the white ravisher of his wife! The late Col. Wm. L. Stone and Mr. Schooleraft were the pioneers in hewing down the prejudices that had grown up around the Indian character: they show conclusively that whenever the aboriginals were treated simply as fellow-men they never failed to show

appreciation of it by their conduct The first act of the savages of Eastern Massachusetts upon the arrival of the *Mayflower* was to tender her passengers presents of maize; and not until their claims to kind treatment were ignored and themselves wantonly spurned (when the immediate danger to the colonists of starvation was over) did they raise the defiant war-whoop against the white strangers. And when, in the severe winter of 1678, La Motte and Hennepin, after following for five weary days an Indian trail through the frost-bound wilderness, and sleeping at night in the open air without shelter, reached the village of the Senecas, they were received by that nation, as we are told by Mr. Marshall, "with marked consideration and conducted to the cabin of their principal chief, where the young men bathed their travel-worn feet and anointed them with bear's oil." In fact, we do not remember an instance where the whites encountered the Indians for the first time on the shores of this continent, in which they were not treated with kindness and hospitality: as it is with nations, so is it the case with individuals; and the great influence of William Penn, Sir William Johnson and Lescarbot over the terrible yet fickle Iroquois, which has always been regarded as so extraordinary, arose simply from the fact that they knew the magic of kindness and its potency over all, but especially over the red men of the forest.[1]

[1] In this connection, a pleasing incident may very appropriately be mentioned. On June 16th, 1885, the Senecas met at Versailles,

"The Niagara Frontier," not only embraces sketches of a section of country whose interest is enhanced by the events of the war of 1812, but is a successful attempt to rescue from oblivion and illustrate historically some of the Indian, French and English names which have been applied to the most prominent localities on that frontier. This paper is characterized by the same agreeable style, joined to historical accuracy, which runs throughout the series; and with a similar conclusive way in which the writer, in his "Expedition of Champlain," established to the satisfaction of so thorough a

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N. Y., and, partly as a delicate recognition of his father's kindly feeling towards the Indians, adopted Mr. Charles D. Marshall into their nation as a brother. On this occasion after a few graceful and appropriate words of introduction by William C. Bryant—himself a Seneca by adoption—a large circle was formed, in the centre of which the chiefs of the several tribes of the Seneca nation ranged themselves in two parallel lines. The candidate, Charles D. Marshall, was then led forward, and presented to a venerable gray haired chief, Solomon O. Bad, a grandson of the famous Cornplanter. The old man grasped the aspirant for adoption by the hand and made a long speech in the Seneca tongue, reciting the virtues of Mr. Marshall and his worthy sire. Mr. Marshall was then led up and down between the two lines of braves, his conductor chanting a wierd and not unmusical air, while the remainder of the Indians sounded a gutteral chorus resembling the bark of a dog or the howl of a wolf, finishing with a wild whoop. Mr. Marshall was then declared duly installed as a member of the Wolf clan and was christened "Gaih-wa-gwin-nuh," the translation of which is "The Truth." At the close, the newly-made Indian shook hands with all his brethren and exchanged fraternal vows.

writer as Parkman, the site of the battle between Champlain and the Onondagas, he settles the question of the original Indian name of the Falls of Niagara. The original name of the Niagara river as pronounced by the Neutral Nation was *On-gui-aah*; by the Mohawks *Nyah-ga-ra*; and by the Senecas *Nyah-gaah*. In 1657, the name appeared on Samson's map of Canada spelled *Onyiara*; and in 1688 it made its first appearance as *Niagara* on Coronelli's map, published in Paris. But this final spelling was not reached until the word, as Dr. O'Callaghan informs us, had been spelled in thirty-nine different ways. The word itself is probably derived from the Mohawks, through whom the French had their first intercourse with the Iroquois. The Mohawks say the word means "Neck" in allusion to its connecting the two lakes. Sir William Johnson writing in 1771 to Arthur Lee of Virginia (secretary of the Philosophical Society) states that "oga" or "aga" is an inflection or termination in the Iroquois dialect signifying "the inhabitants of"[1]

Hence *Niagara* "the people of the *Neck*." The word *Niagara* has therefore no reference to the cataract, which is supposed by many still to bear the original Indian

[1] I am aware that some writers differ from me in regard to the meaning of the termination "aga." I consider however, that Sir William Johnson, living among the Mohawks at the time he wrote, and having exceptional means of information, and being moreover, himself a man of uncommonly keen observation—is a far more reliable authority on this point than any modern writer.

name. Nor, indeed, does it appear that those tribes, dwelling around the falls at the time of the discovery, knew them by any distinctive name. After the discovery, however, as we here learn from Mr. Marshall, "the Senecas appear to have given it the name of '*Det-gah-shoh-ses*,' signifying 'the place of the High Fall.' They never call it Niagara, nor by any similar term, neither does that word signify in their language, 'thunders of waters,' as affirmed by Schoolcraft." Indeed, it has been too much the habit of some of our American writers upon the aboriginals, either to substitute a theory of their own in relation to the meaning of certain Indian names, or to announce a thing as a fact before having sufficiently investigated the subject. Schoolcraft is not the only author who has fallen into this error. Cooper, also, in one of his Leather Stocking tales has originated a mistake in this way in writing of Lake George—the original Indian name of which is *An-dia-roc-te*—giving the manufactured one Horicon, which by some has been imagined to mean "Clear or Silvery Water," as the original name. This, as in the case of Mr. Schoolcraft's definition of Niagara, is certainly poetic but has not the merit of historical truth which is of much more importance. The thanks of his countrymen should be given Mr. Marshall for his painstaking efforts in putting into imperishable form the early history of a national curiosity in which Americans justly take great pride.

In this sketch, also, we again meet with La Salle, as, in his brigantine of ten tons, he doubles the point where Fort Niagara now stands and anchors in the sheltered waters of that river. As his vessel entered that noble stream the grateful Franciscans chanted the *Te Deum Laudamus.* "The strains of that ancient hymn," says Mr. Marshall, "as they rose from the deck of the adventurous bark, and echoed from shore and forest, must have startled the watchful Senecas with the unusual sound, as they gazed upon their strange visitors. Never before had white men ascended the river. On its borders the wild Indian still contended for supremacy with the scarce wilder beasts of the forest. Dense woods overhung the shore, except at the site of the present fort or near the portage above, where a few temporary cabins sheltered some fishing parties of the Senecas. All was yet primitive and unexplored."

In the "Niagara Frontier," allusion is made to the origin of the name of Buffalo. Its first occurrence, we here learn, is in the narrative of the captivity of the Gilbert family among the Senecas in 1780–81. It next appears in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, held by Timothy Pickering. The Rev. Mr. Kirkland, in his journal of a visit to the Senecas in 1788, also speaks of their "Village on the Buffalo"; and from that time the word seems to have come into general use. The Holland Land Company endeavored to supplant it with the term of "New Amsterdam,"

but the early village fathers of the town, with unusual good sense, rejected the substitute, together with the foreign names which the same company had imposed upon the streets.[1]

The chief characteristic of Mr. Marshall was conscientiousness. This trait was prominent in his daily life, in his business relations, and in his literary work. What he published was written with the greatest care, and not until he had thoroughly and exhaustively examined his subject from every stand point. "When Mr. Marshall," remarked a friend shortly after his decease, "asserted a thing, it was useless to look farther." In his historical studies, his legal training was of great assistance to him in sifting conflicting testimony, and aiming at a just estimate of the facts. He often hesitated, even after long and patient investigation, in giving his views to the public, fearful lest he might unwittingly give currency to error. "I have learned sorrowfully," he once wrote to me in a half-playful vein, "that man is mortal; and I am very sorry to say it, he is totally depraved. I cannot, therefore, lean on any one, and I do not exclude myself in that list. I assure you I am groping in the dark, lacking confidence in the records of the past, and feeling no certainty that any fact is really the unadulterated truth." Hence, when Mr. Marshall

[1] It would seem, however, that they were not so successful in getting rid of the foreign "signs" in that city, as is evident to any one passing down its "Main" street!

stated a thing as a fact, the reader felt that the author narrated what he, at least, believed to be true; and to this circumstance, as well as to the charm of his style, is to be ascribed the respect in which he is held as a writer.

Thus much regarding Mr. Marshall's literary labors; but our feelings prompt us to pursue him into the recesses of private life. The repository of numerous and important trusts, his integrity was above suspicion. Esteemed for no extrinsic circumstances but for his own individual worth, his virtues were many, and they of the most lovely character. In fine, he was one of the few of whom it can be said he was greatly beloved in life and deeply regretted in death. His intimate personal friend, Mr. Wm. C. Bryant, in his remarks before the Buffalo Bar, called together to do honor to Mr. Marshall's memory, said: "He sustained all the relations of life with exceeding grace and rare dignity; judicious, loving, kind, he had a heart open as day to melting charity. He was the typical American gentleman—dignified without haughtiness, courteous but not subservient, with winning graciousness of manner and observant of all the sweet humanities—a loving heart in a manly bosom." Restful be the sleep of this inmate of the tomb, and green be the sod over his mortal remains!

"Sure the last end
Of the good man is peace—how calm his exit!
Night dews fall not more gently to the ground:

Nor weary worn out winds expire so soft!
  Behold him in the evening tide of life!
A life well spent, whose early care it was—
His riper years should not upbraid his green:
By unperceived degrees he wears away—
Yet, like the sun, seems larger at his setting!"

WILLIAM L. STONE.

Jersey City Heights,
Jan. 15, 1887.

A SKETCH OF SOME OF THE INDIAN TRIBES WHICH FORMERLY DWELT ON THE BORDERS OF THE GREAT LAKES.[1]

THE broad and extensive valley drained by the lakes which pour their tribute to the ocean through the Gulf of St. Lawrence, is, in many respects, a region of no common interest.

It embraces an area of more than half a million of square miles, abounding in fertile soil, possessing a salu-

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[1] This sketch originally formed the preface to a lecture upon the Franciscan and Jesuit Missions in North America, delivered by Mr. Marshall before the "Young Men's Association" of Buffalo, Feb. 9th, 1849. It is placed in this position as forming an appropriate Introduction to the events which are narrated in the succeeding papers.

Mr. Marshall, through this paper, was one of the first to call attention to the early Jesuit Missions as an interesting field for historical investigation; and when it is remembered what paucity of material was at hand at the time it was written, the labor and patience bestowed upon it, as well as the accuracy of its statements, must appear in the highest degree creditable to the author. This sketch is not printed in full in the present volume, for the reason that Mr. Marshall seems to have drawn on it for some of his subsequent papers, which are now given in full.—*Ed.*

brious climate, and diversified with sublime and picturesque scenery.

From its source to its outlet, this immense chain of seas and connecting straits, affording an inland navigation of upwards of two thousand miles in extent, may be regarded as a continuous river, expanding at intervals into broad and beautiful lakes.

The interesting region which borders these unrivalled channels of communication, is destined at no distant day, to teem with a dense population fostered by the influence of free institutions and enriched by the successful pursuits of agriculture and commerce.

The rapid increase of its own population and the unceasing tide of emigration, which is flowing up the valley will soon subdue its remaining forests, establish and occupy its marts of commerce, and outstrip in its career of prosperity the less favored portions of the older world.

It is not alone in reference to its geographical features, its favored position, or its future prospects, that this region abounds in interest. It has a history. And although its annals when compared with those of the eastern continent are of but recent date, still, to us the mists of a venerable antiquity have already settled upon the events connected with its discovery, its early settlement, and the toils and privations of those intrepid adventurers, who first explored its wilds; contended with the native tenants of its forests; and cleared the way for the advancing footsteps of a more favored race.

The recent researches of geology discover in the upheaved strata of this so-called new continent, evidences of an older formation than any visible in the other hemisphere.

The antiquarian, as he excavates the mounds, and surveys the remains, which are scattered over our western valleys, meets with relics of a remote antiquity, and memorials of a populous race, advanced in civilization, who,

"Heaped with long toil the earth, while yet the Greek
"Was hewing the Pentelicus to forms of symmetry,
"And rearing on its rocks the glittering Parthenon"

The various tribes of aboriginal inhabitants, which were found in possession of this country at its discovery, exhibited a diversity of institutions, customs and language, which could only have resulted from a separation at a period far remote in their history.

Nothing here is new, but the race that has acquired dominion over these territories.

The English, on landing in James River and at Plymouth, met a people which spoke a language kindred to that of the tribes which greeted the Dutch at Manhattan and the French on the St. Lawrence. All these were but branches of that Algonquin family whose domains extended from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from the home of the Cherokee in the South to the frozen regions of the North.

Almost in the centre of this extensive region, scattered along the borders of the lakes and surrounded on all

sides by this Algonquin race, dwelt a group of tribes, speaking dialects of a common language, different from that of the former and to whom modern ethnographers have applied the term of "Huron-Iroquois."

They have been sub-divided by French writers into six families, called Iroquois, Hurons, Tobacco Nation, Neutral Nation, Eries and Andastes, all resembling each other in customs, government and language. That they all at no very remote period, formed but one people, there can be but little doubt. When or how they became disunited, is now beyond historical research.

The Iroquois have a tradition of the *era* of their confederacy or reunion, but we have not even that dim and uncertain light to tell us the circumstances under which the parent tribe was broken into fragments.

The location of the five nations, whose territories extended longitudinally through our State, is well known to all. Their history possesses for us a peculiar and local interest. Less than two hundred years ago they claimed and exercised exclusive dominion over the northern and western parts of our State, and their prowess was felt from the walls of Quebec to the prairies of Illinois, and from the Mexican Gulf to the sterile regions washed by Hudson's Bay.

The term "Iroquois" by which they are known to the French, is a *sobriquet*, derived from two words, one being that with which they always conclude their harangues, and analagous to the word "*dixi*" of the Latins, and the

other an exclamation, which if in good humor, they pronounce rapidly, but if sorrowful in a drawling tone.

The name by which they are known among themselves signifies "*a perfect house*" in allusion to their strong and well compacted confederacy. This they compared to a "Long House," the eastern door of which opened on the Hudson and the western on Lake Erie, the former being guarded by the Mohawks and the latter by the Senecas.

As early as the year 1654, the application of this name was illustrated by a Mohawk chief who complained in a speech to the Governor of Canada, because the embassy which the Jesuit LeMoyne had just undertaken to the Onondagas had not first visited the Mohawks "Is it not," "said he, by the door of a house that you should enter? It is not by the chimney or the roof, unless you wish to steal or surprise the inmates.

"The five Iroquois nations form but one house. We kindle but one fire, and have always lived under one roof. Why then do you not enter by the door, which is in the lower story of the house. It is by the Mohawks you should commence. You wish to enter by the chimney, commencing with the Onondagas. Have you no fear that the smoke will blind you, our fire not being extinguished? Are you not afraid of falling, there being nothing substantial to support you?"

The French called the Mohawks and Oneidas the "lower Iroquois," and the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas the "upper," in allusion to their geographical position.

It was to this distinction that the Mohawk probably alluded, when he spoke of his tribe as constituting the lower story of the *Long* House.

We feel a still greater interest in the history of the Seneca branch of this once powerful confederacy. Their council fire burned for a long time on the confines of our city [Buffalo]. They were the most numerous, warlike and fierce of all the tribes, and numbered among their sachems and warriors, some of the most distinguished in aboriginal annals. Their early history has never been written, and probably never can be. Facts are now so blended with tradition, that no research nor investigation can separate them. The old men of the nation, those links which connected the past with the present, and from whom much might have been gathered as to the origin and history of their race, have passed away, and the nation itself, before the lapse of not many years, will share the fate of those numerous tribes, which have been exterminated by its prowess. Civilization will rescue their hunting grounds from the dominion of nature, their rude wigwams will give place to the dwellings of the white man, and the plough will soon obliterate all evidence of their occupancy, as it turns the soil which covers their graves, and levels their rude mounds and trenches, by some supposed to be the relics of a still older race.

The Hurons were located on the eastern shore of the lake which bears their name. Their villages were clustered around the head of Gloucester bay, on the

waters of the Matchedas, and in the neighborhood of Lake Simcoe. This region was early known to the French by the name of the "Huron country" and has been the scene of the self-denying toil, sufferings and martyrdom of many a devoted Jesuit.

The term "Huron" is not of Indian origin. It was first applied to that people by the French, and originated by way of burlesque from a word the latter frequently used, when they saw for the first time, the cropped and bristling hair of the Hurons. Their frightful appearance provoked the exclamation "*quelles hures,*" what heads! a term which settled into "Hurons," and became their ordinary appellation.

When first visited by the white man in 1609, they were found to be subdivided into four distinct tribes or clans, living in twenty villages containing about thirty thousand souls. At this time they were at war with the Iroquois, who even then were called their "ancient enemies" and hostilities continued to prevail between them for nearly forty years with scarcely any intermission. The Hurons were enabled to maintain their position until the year 1649, when the Iroquois invaded their country with a large army during the false security afforded by deep snows and a severe winter, fell upon them unawares, massacred great numbers, destroyed their villages and laid waste their country. The Hurons never recovered from the effects of this invasion, but deserted their homes and sought protection among the French, or refuge in the islands of Lake Huron. A few, in their extremity, fled to

the villages of the Tobacco nation, but the fugitives and the people which gave them shelter, were alike compelled to abandon all to their victorious enemies. The details of their overthrow fully appears in the part which the Jesuits acted and suffered in the bloody tragedy.

The Tobacco nation just alluded to, were so called from the abundance of that herb which was found in their country at its first exploration. They lived south-west of the Hurons, occupying the borders of the same lake.

The Neutral nation had their council fires in the extensive peninsula north of our lake and along both borders of the Niagara. They claimed for their hunting grounds the territory lying west of the Genesee, and extending northward to the Hurons. Few details exist respecting this peculiar people, who, before the Senecas wrested from them the soil we now occupy, reared their dwellings, pursued their game and lived in innocent neutrality in these regions now swarming with the population and sprinkled with the abodes of the white man.

Champlain mentioned their existence as early as 1615. He noticed some of their peculiarities and expressed a strong desire to explore their country.

According to the estimation of the Jesuits, they numbered twelve thousand souls in 1641, and could furnish four thousand warriors, notwithstanding, for three years previous they had been wasted by war, famine and pestilence.

Although the French applied to them the name of "neuter," it was only an allusion to their neutrality be-

tween the Hurons and the Iroquois. These contending nations traversed the territories of the Neutral nation in their wars against each other, and if, by chance, they met in the wigwams or villages of this people, they were forced to restrain their animosity and to separate in peace.

Notwithstanding this neutrality, they waged cruel wars with other nations, toward whom they exercised cruelties even more inhuman than those charged upon their savage neighbors.

The early missionaries describe their customs as similar to those of the Hurons, their land, as producing Indian corn, beans and squashes in abundance, their rivers as abounding in fish of endless variety, and their forests as filled with animals yielding the richest furs.

They exceeded the Hurons in stature, strength and symmetry of form, and wore their dress with a superior grace.

They regarded their dead with peculiar affection, and hence arose a custom which is worthy of notice, and explains the origin of the numerous burial mounds which are scattered over this vicinity. Instead of burying the bodies of their deceased friends, they deposited them in houses or on scaffolds erected for the purpose. They collected the skeletons from time to time and arranged them in their dwellings, in anticipation of the feast of the dead, which occurred once in ten or twelve years. On this occasion the whole nation repaired to an appointed place, each family, with the greatest apparent affection, bringing

the bones of their deceased relatives enveloped in the choicest furs. After many superstitious ceremonies were performed, these remains were deposited with war-like implements and domestic utensils in a large pit and covered with earth. One of these receptacles can now be seen near the head of Tonawanda island, and was recently opened by Mr. Squier, the author of the volume on the antiquities of the Mississippi valley, recently published by the Smithsonian Institute. Nothing was found within it but bones and fragments of pottery.

Another may be seen a short distance east of our city, north of the Seneca road, and not far beyond the bridge over the Buffalo creek. It still forms a perceptible elevation above the level of the surrounding field. An Irish emigrant has chosen the site for his humble dwelling, little supposing the hillock which determined his choice to be a charnel house, filled with the bones of an extinct race. Many similar tunnels may be found in other parts of the reservation, all knowledge of the origin of which is disclaimed by the Senecas.

While the Neutral nation were thus inhabiting these regions, they were embroiled in a war with the Iroquois, and soon shared the fate of the Hurons.

La Fiteau, on the authority of Father Garnier, relates that the quarrel originated in a challenge sent by the Senecas to the Neutral nation and accepted by the latter, and the statement seems to be confirmed by Seneca tradition.

Another account, written in 1648, the year after the occurrence, states that a Seneca, on his return from a foray against the Tobacco nation, was overtaken and killed in the Neutral territory, before he had reached the sanctuary of a dwelling. This afforded a pretext for the subsequent movements of the Senecas. They sent a party of three hundred men, who in apparent friendship visited one of the villages of the Neutral nation and were received with the usual hospitality.

They were distributed among the different dwellings, and, at a concerted signal, commenced an indiscriminate slaughter of the whole population.

From this time the war raged between the two nations with great severity. In the autumn of 1650, and spring of 1651, two frontier villages of the Neutral nation, one of which must have been located in this vicinity, were sacked and destroyed. The largest contained more than sixteen hundred men. All the old men and children who were unable to follow the Senecas on their return, were put to death, and the others were held in captivity.

This was the last and decisive blow. Famine soon destroyed those spared by the Senecas. The country of the Neutral nation was devastated, and their council fires were put out forever. Those, who were taken prisoners lived for a long time in Gannogarae, a Seneca village east of the Genesee river, where they were found by Father Fremin in 1669, eighteen years after their capture.

Of the Eries, little is known except their location and extermination by the Iroquois. They were called the "Cat nation" by the French, from the abundance of wild cats found in their country. They were not visited by the Jesuits but according to all the early and most reliable French authorities, they lived within the bounds of the present State of Ohio, and near the western extremity of Lake Erie.

The earliest notice of this people that I have met with, is contained in the Jesuit Relation for the year 1635. Father Le Jeune enumerates them in a catalogue of those nations that were accessible to the Jesuits acquainted with the Huron tongue.

Father Ragueneau, in writing from the Huron country in 1648, states that "south of the Neuter nation is a great lake, almost two hundred leagues in circumference called Erie, into which is discharged the 'Fresh sea or Lake Huron.'" "This Lake Erie," he continues, "is precipitated by a cataract of frightful height, into a third lake, called Ontario, and by us St. Louis. This Lake Erie was heretofore inhabited on its southern borders by a certain people called the Cat nation, who have been obliged to withdraw into the interior to avoid their enemies. They are a sedentary people. They till the soil and speak the Huron tongue."

A subsequent writer describes their country as "very temperate, having little snow or ice in winter."

A party of Eries visited the Seneca villages east of the Genesee in 1653, on an embassy of peace.

By some accident a Seneca was killed by one of the Eries. This so offended the Senecas, that they put all the ambassadors to death except five who escaped to their own country.

At this period the Eries constituted a powerful nation, and could bring two thousand warriors into the field. A few Hurons, who, after their dispersion by the Iroquois, had found refuge among the Eries, encouraged their animosity against the Five Nations, and incited them to revenge the murder of their ambassadors.

An expedition was accordingly sent into the country of the Senecas which destroyed one of their villages. A victorious band of Senecas, returning with their spoils from the shores of Lake Huron, was intercepted by the Eries and their rear guard, consisting of eighty chosen men, was put to death.

The Iroquois were now filled with no little apprehension at the prospect of war with so powerful an adversary, and the energies of the whole confederacy were aroused. A detachment of eighteen hundred men was equipped and secretly despatched on an expedition against the enemy. No sooner had they appeared among the Eries, than the greatest consternation ensued. Their villages were abandoned to the assailants, who vigorously pursued the fugitives. The Eries, with over two thousand warriors, besides women and children, being hotly pressed by the enemy during a flight of five days, at length entrenched themselves in a fort of palisades. As the pursuers

approached, two of their chiefs disguised themselves in French clothing to frighten the Eries, and advised them to surrender. "The Master of life fights for us," said the chiefs," and you are lost if you resist."

"Who is the master of life?" replied the Eries. "We know of none but our right arms and our hatchets."

The assault commenced; the palisades were attacked on all sides, and the contest continued for a long time with great vigor on both sides.

The Iroquois, having used every exertion to carry the fort by storm without success, their warriors being killed as fast as they approached, at length resorted to strategem. They converted their canoes into shields, and advancing under their protection succeeded in reaching the foot of the entrenchment. Using their canoes for ladders, they climbed the palisades in face of the enemy, who, having exhausted their munitions of war, and being intimidated by the boldness of the Iroquois, fled in every direction.

The assailants made an indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children, and rioted in the blood of their victims.

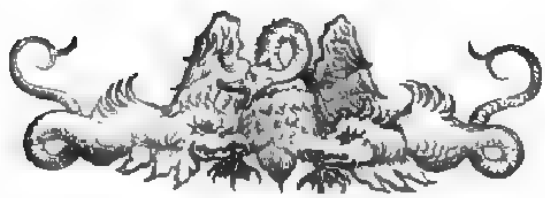
A few fugitive Eries, about three hundred in number, having collected together and recruited their energies, retraced their steps in hopes of surprising the enemy on their return. The plan was well conceived, but badly executed. The first shout of the Iroquois dispersed them, never again to rally.

The loss of the victors in this expedition was very severe, but their prisoners more than supplied it.

The embarrassments attending so great a number of wounded and captives, detained them nearly two months in the country of the enemy.

The Eries were thus swept from existence. We hear no more of them as a distinct nation, and no memorial of the race exists save the lake which now bears their name.

"Ye say they all have passed away,
"That noble race and brave,
"That their light canoes have vanished
"From off the crested wave.
"That mid the forest where they roamed,
"There rings no hunter's shout,
"*But their name is on our waters,*
"*And ye may not wash it out.*"



Fac-Simile of Part of the Champlain Map of 1632.

EXPLANATION.

The map prefixed is a photo-lithographic fac-simile of the original which accompanies the edition of the Voyages of Champlain in New France, printed at Paris, in 1632.

The numbers 89, 90, 93 appear in the original, and are thus explained in a table annexed :

89. Village renfermé de 4 pallisades ou le Sieur de Champlain fut à la guerre contre les Antouhonorons, où il fut pris plusieurs prisonniers suavages.

Translation: Village enclosed within 4 palisades, where the Sieur de Champlain was during the war upon the Antouhonorons, and where numerous savages were made prisoners.

90. Sault d'eau au bout du Sault Sainct Louis fort hault où plusieurs sortes de poissons descendans s'estourdissent.

Translation: A waterfall of considerable height, at the end of the Sault St. Louis, where several kinds of fish are stunned in their descent.

93. Bois des Chastaigniers où il y a forces chastaignes sur le bord du lac S. Louis et quantité de prairies, vignes et noyers.

Translation: Woods of chestnut trees, with abundance of chestnuts and extensive meadow lands, with vines and walnut trees on the border of Lake St. Louis.

CHAMPLAIN'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ONONDAGAS IN 1615.

IN the year 1615, there dwelt on the south-eastern shore of Lake Huron, between Lake Simcoe and the Georgian Bay, a nation of Indians who were called in their own language, "Wendats," or "Wyandots," and by the French "Hurons." There is no record of their having been visited by the white man prior to the above date. In the same year, the Sieur de Champlain, the Father of French colonization in America, who had entered the St. Lawrence in 1603 and founded Quebec five years later, ascended the river Ottawa as far as the Huron country—Le Caron, the Franciscan, having preceded him by a few days only. These adventurous pioneers were seeking, in their respective spheres, and by concurrent enterprises, the one to explore the western portions of New France, and the other to establish missions among the North American Indians.

The Hurons and their Algonkin allies who dwelt on the Ottawa, being at that time engaged in a sanguinary war with the confederated Iroquois tribes south of Lake Ontario, persuaded Champlain to join them in an expedition

which they were projecting into the territories of their enemy. The combined forces set out from Ca-i-ha-gué, the chief town of the Hurons, situated between the river Severn and Matchedash Bay, on the first day of September, 1615.[1]

Crossing Lake Simcoe in their bark canoes, they made a short portage to the headquarters of the river Trent, and descended in its zigzag channel into Lake Ontario. Passing from island to island in the group which lies in the eastern extremity of that lake, they safely reached its southern shore, and landed in the present State of New York. Concealing their canoes in the adjacent woods, they started overland for their Iroquois enemies.

In an account of this expedition, read before the New York Historical Society in March, 1849, and published in its Proceedings for that year,[2] I endeavored to establish the precise point where the invaders landed, the route which they pursued, and the position of the Iroquois fort which they besieged. The fact that Champlain had, at that early day, visited the central part of the State of New York, seemed to have been overlooked by all previous writers, and was deemed to be an interesting topic for historical investigation. Taking for my guide the edition of Champlain's works published in 1632, the only one then accessible,[3] I became satisfied on a careful study

[1] Champlain's voyages. Edition of 1632, p. 251.

[2] Proceedings for 1849, p. 96.

[3] The first account of the expedition was published in 1619.

of the text alone, the map being lost, that the expedition landed at or near Point de Traverse, now called "Stony Point," in Jefferson county, and from thence proceeded in a southerly direction, and after crossing the Big and Little Sandy creeks and Salmon and Oneida rivers, reached the Iroquois fort on Onondaga Lake. I fully stated these conclusions in the communication above referred to, and they were approved and adopted by several of our American historians.[1] Other writers, however, of equal note and authority, locate the fort as far west as Canandaigua lake.[2]

In view of these considerations, I have been led to re-examine the subject, aided by additional sources of information, particularly by the late Abbé Laverdières recent edition of all of Champlain's works. My present purpose is to state, briefly, the result of that re-examination, and the additional grounds upon which I adhere to my former conclusions, I will first, for convenient reference, give a literal translation of that part of Champlain's narrative which relates to the question. It is taken from the edition of 1619, which differs in a few unimportant particulars from that of 1632. After describing the voyage until their embarkation near the eastern end of Lake Ontario,

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[1] Brodhead's History of New York, Vol. I, p. 69; Clark's History of Onondaga, Vol. I, p. 253; Shea's edition of Charlevoix's New France, Vol. II, p. 28, note.

[2] O'Callaghan's Doc. Hist. of New York, Vol. III, p. 10, note; Ferland's Cours D'Histoire du Canada, p. 175; Parkman's Pioneers of New France, p. 373; Laverdière's Works of Champlain, p. 528, note.

a synopsis of which has already been given, our historian says :—[1]

"We made about fourteen leagues in crossing to the other side of the Lake, in a southerly direction, towards the territories of the enemy. The Indians concealed all their canoes in the woods near the shore. We made by land about four leagues, over a sandy beach, where I noticed a very agreeable and beautiful country, traversed by many small streams, and two small rivers which empty into the said Lake. Also many ponds and meadows, abounding in an infinite variety of game, numerous vines, and fine woods, a great number of chestnut trees, the fruit of which was yet in its covering. Although very small, it was of good flavor. All the canoes being thus concealed, we left the shore of the Lake, which is about eighty leagues long and twenty-five wide, the greater part of it being inhabited by Indians along its banks, and continued our way by land about twenty-five or thirty leagues. During four days we crossed numerous streams and a river issuing from a Lake which empties into that of the *Entouhonorons*. This Lake, which is about twenty-five or thirty leagues in circumference, contains several beautiful islands, and is the place where our Iroquois enemies catch their fish, which are there in great abundance. On the 9th of October, our people being on a scout, encountered eleven Indians whom they took prisoners, namely, four women, three

[1] Laverdière's Champlain, p. 526.

boys, a girl, and three men, who were going to the fishery, distant four leagues from the enemies' fort. * * The next day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived before the fort. * * * Their village was enclosed with four strong rows of interlaced palisades, composed of large pieces of wood, thirty feet high, not more than half a foot apart and near an unfailing body of water. * * * We were encamped until the 16th of the month. * * * As the five hundred men did not arrive,[1] the Indians decided to leave by an immediate retreat, and began to make baskets in which to carry the wounded, who were placed in them doubled in a heap, and so bent and tied as to render it impossible for them to stir, any more than an infant in its swaddling clothes, and not without great suffering, as I can testify, having been carried several days on the back of one of our Indians, thus tied and imprisoned, which made me lose all patience. As soon as I had strength to sustain myself, I escaped from this prison, or to speak plainly, from this hell.

"The enemy pursued us about half a league, in order to capture some of our rear guard, but their efforts were useless and they withdrew. * * * * The retreat was very tedious, being from twenty-five to thirty leagues, and greatly fatigued the wounded, and those who carried them, though they relieved each other from time to time.

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[1] A reinforcement they were expecting from the Carantouanais, who lived on the sources of the Susquehanna.

On the 18th considerable snow fell which lasted but a short time. It was accompanied with a violent wind, which greatly incommoded us. Nevertheless we made such progress, that we reached the banks of the Lake of the *Entouhonorons*, at the place where we had concealed our canoes, and which were found all whole. We were apprehensive that the enemy had broken them up."[1]

I will now proceed to examine the reasons which have been assigned in favor of locating the Iroquois fort on or west of Canandaigua Lake. They are three-fold, and founded on the following assumptions: 1st. That the *Entouhonorons*, whose territory was invaded, were the *Senecas*, then residing on the west of Canandaigua Lake.[2] 2d. That the route, as laid down on the map of Champlain, which is annexed to the edition of 1632, indicates that the fort was on Canandaigua Lake, or on a tributary of the Genesee river, and consequently in the *Seneca* country.[3] 3d. That the distances traveled by the expedition, as stated by Champlain, prove that the extreme point he reached must have been in the *Seneca* country.[4]

I will notice these propositions in their order. 1st. In regard to the identity of the *Entouhonorons* with the

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[1] Champlain's Voyages, Ed. 1632, Part I., pp. 254–263. Laverdière's Reprint of the Narrative of 1619, pp. 38–48.

[2] Laverdière's Champlain, Vol. 1, p. 521, n. 1. Parkman's Pioneers, p. 373, n.

[3] O'Callaghan, in Doc. Hist. N. Y., Vol. 1, p. 10, n. Parkman's Pioneers, p. 373.

[4] Laverdière's Champlain, Vol. 1, p. 516, n.

Senecas. One of the arguments urged in favor of this identity is based on the similarity of name, the Senecas being called "*Sonontoerrhonons*" by the Hurons. But the latter called the Onondagas "*Onontaerrhonons*," which bears quite as strong a resemblance to *Entouhonorons* as the name they applied to the Senecas. It may be stated here that O'Callaghan, Parkman, Ferland, and Laverdière, each called the tribe in question "Entouho*ronons*," whereas, Champlain, in all the editions of his works, refers to them invariably as "Entouho*norons*." He never calls them "Entouho*ronons*" in his *text* On the *map* annexed to the edition of 1632, they are named "*Antouoronons*," but in the *index* to the map, "*Antouhonorons*."[1] It must, therefore, have been from the map, and not from the text, that the word "Entouhoronons" was derived. The other name, as uniformly given by Champlain in his text, we must assume to be correct, in preference to the solitary entry on the map.[2]

It is supposed by some that the edition of 1632, which contains the map, and is composed of his previous publications, was not the work of Champlain, and never passed

[1] Laverdière's Champlain, Vol. 2, p. 1392.

[2] If it be assumed that the terminations "*ronons*" and "*norons*" are identical, and mere suffixes, signifying, in the Huron language, "people," see Father Bruya's Mohawk Dictionary, p. 18; then, if those terminations are dropped from each of the three words, they will respectively become "*sonontoe*," "*onontae*," and "*entouho*," and represent the names of the *places* where those nations resided. Now it cannot be said that there is any stronger resemblance between *sonontoe* and *entouho*, than between *onontae* and *entouho*.

under his personal supervision. It is asserted that it was compiled by his publisher, Claude Collet,[1] to whose carelessness the error in the name, as contained on the map, may be attributed. There was no map annexed to the edition of 1619, and the one which accompanied that of 1632 was not constructed until seventeen years after the date of the expedition, as appears from a memorandum on its face. It may not have been compiled from authentic data. One of the discrepancies between it and the text is its location of the "*Antouaronons*," not at the Iroquois fort, but a long distance west of it, thus making a distinction between them and the Iroquois who were living at the fort that is wholly unwarranted by anything contained in the narrative. It is also worthy of note, that the map is not once referred to by Champlain in his text. Not only was it constructed after all his narratives were written, but the index to it was evidently added by some other hand. Another argument urged in favor of the identity of the *Entouhonorons* with the Senecas has been drawn from the existence of a nation, called by Champlain "*Chountouaroüon*," which is undoubtedly a misprint for "*Chonontouaronon*."[2] They are described as living between the Hurons of Canada, and the *Girantouanais* (or

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[1] Harrisse. Bibliographie de la N. France, p. 66. See also Laverdière's Champlain, pp. 637-8.

[2] Shea's Charlevoix, Vol. 2, p. 28, n. The letters "n" and "u" occur frequently in Indian names, and it is quite difficult to distinguish the one from the other in manuscript. Their being often mistaken for each other occasions numerous typographical errors.

Andastes), on the Susquehanna.[1] Champlain says that, "in going from the one to the other, a grand detour is necessary, in order to avoid the *Chonontouaronons*, which is a very strong nation."[2] From the name and location, they can be no other than the Senecas.

The Abbé Laverdière assumes that the *Chouontouaronons* and *Entouhonorons* are one and the same people.[3] This cannot be true, for Champlain mentions them both in almost the same sentence, and gives to each their respective names, without a hint of their identity.[4] Indeed, Laverdière, in support of his theory, is obliged to interpolate a word in the text of Champlain, which is entirely superfluous.[5] The identity of the *Entouhonorons* with the Senecas, rather than with the Onondagas, cannot therefore be established by any supposed similarity of name.

2d. The next in order for consideration, is the *route* pursued by the expedition, and the *site* of the Iroquois fort, as they are indicated on the map.

A slight examination of the annexed *fac-simile* of that portion of the original map, which relates to this expedition, will show it to be wholly unreliable as a guide in any investigation of Champlain's route. It is incorrect in

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[1] Jesuit Relation for 1648. Quebec Reprint, pp. 46–48.

[2] Laverdière's Champlain, p. 522.

[3] Laverdière's Champlain, p. 521, note 1.

[4] Laverdière's Champlain, p. 909–910.

[5] Laverdière's Champlain, p. 522, note 1.

most of its details. Although the original exhibits the general outlines of Lakes Ontario and Huron, Lake Erie is almost entirely ignored, an irregular strait, bearing little resemblance to it, being substituted. Lake Ontario, as shown by the *fac-simile* is erroneously represented as containing several islands scattered along its northern and southern shore, and the Niagara river as running due east into its westernmost extremity. The Great Falls are located at the very mouth of the river. Everything is distorted, and in some places it is scarcely recognizable. The supposed route of Champlain is indicated by a *dotted line*, which, crossing Lake Ontario along a chain of imaginary islands, nearly opposite the mouth of the Oswego river, strikes the southern shore at that point. All evidence that the expedition traversed the "sandy beach" which stretches along the Lake shore, south of Stony Point, as referred to in the text, *is entirely omitted*. From the mouth of the Oswego, the line pursues a southerly direction, and after crossing what appears to be the present Seneca river, and another stream, passes between two lakes directly to the Iroquois fort. This route, as thus shown by the *map*, is highly improbable, unnecessarily circuitous, and cannot possibly be reconciled with the text of Champlain.[1] If the expedition had gone as far

[1] In the *fac-simile* of Champlain's map, published by Tross, in Paris, the dotted line, where it should cross Lake Ontario, as shown by the original map, is omitted. The same portion of the line is also wanting in the *fac-simile* published by Dr. O'Callaghan, in Vol. III. of the Documentary History of New York, and by Laver-

west as Canandaigua lake, Champlain would have passed near to, and have become acquainted with, the existence of no less than eight of those remarkable inland sheets of water which form so conspicuous a feature in the scenery of central New York, not to mention three others a little further west. Only five lakes are indicated on the map, and none are mentioned in the narrative, except Oneida Lake and the one on which the fort was situated. They would certainly have been as worthy of description as the "sandy beach," "the beautiful wooded country," "the numerous streams," the Oneida "lake and river," and "the small lake," adjacent to the Iroquois fort, which were met with on the route and noticed in the narrative.

3d It is urged, as an additional argument against the location of the Iroquois fort in the Onondaga country, that the distance of "twenty-five or thirty leagues," stated by Champlain to have been traveled by the invaders after they had landed, as well in going to as in returning from the fort, necessarily indicates that they must have gone at least as far west as Canandaigua Lake. It may be said that in stating this distance, Champlain intended to exclude the "four leagues" which they traveled over "a sandy beach," immediately after they had concealed their canoes, thus making from twenty-nine to thirty-four leagues in all. But this cannot be a fair con-

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dière, in his recent edition of Champlain's works. The islands in the eastern end of Lake Ontario, as represented on the original map, are also entirely omitted on Dr. O'Callaghan's *fac-simile*.

struction of his language. He says, "We made about fourteen leagues in crossing the lake in a southerly direction. The Indians concealed all their canoes in the woods near the shore. We traveled by land some four leagues over a sandy beach." A little further on he continues: "All the canoes being concealed, we proceeded by land about twenty-five or thirty leagues during four days." He thus includes the "four leagues" in the four days' travel of "twenty-five or thirty leagues."

The above construction is justified by the further statement, that the same distance of "twenty-five or thirty leagues" was traveled by the expedition on its *return* from the fort to the canoes, referring to the *whole* distance. "The retreat," he says, "was very tedious, being from twenty-five to thirty leagues, and greatly fatigued the wounded and those who bore them, although they relieved each other from time to time." Yet this retreat must have been accomplished in *two days*, half the time it took to reach the fort from the landing, for he states they were encamped before the fort until the 16th of October, and reached their canoes on the 18th.[1] Charlevoix says they did not stop during their retreat[2]— a physical impossibility, certainly, if they had started from a point as far west as Canandaigua Lake. This assertion of Charlevoix does not appear to be warranted by the narrative of Champlain.

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[1] Laverdière's Champlain, p. 526.

[2] Charlevoix's N. France, Vol. I., p. 241. Edition of 1744.

Those writers who, relying on the map, locate the fort on Canandaigua Lake, lose sight of the fact that it discharges its waters into Lake Ontario through the Clyde, Seneca and Oswego rivers, whereas the map places the fort on a stream which empties into Lake Ontario at a point much further west. In considering the question of *distance*, it must be borne in mind, that the attacking party was on foot, advancing cautiously towards a formidable enemy, in a hostile and unexplored country, destitute of roads and abounding in dense forests, numerous rivers and miry swamps. Under such circumstances, incumbered as they were with their implements of war and other effects, their progress must have been slow. The distances which are given by Champlain, being measured only by time, are consequently over-estimated. On their retreat, they had become more familiar with the country, and under the stimulus of an enemy in the rear, accomplished their return with much greater rapidity. From Stony Point where they landed, to Onondaga Lake, following in part the beach of Lake Ontario, is fifty-three miles, by the *shortest possible line*, as measured on a reliable map. But it would have been impossible for such an expedition to pursue so direct a course, owing to the necessity of moving circumspectly, and of seeking the most convenient and practicable route through an unknown wilderness. It would not be unreasonable to deduct at least one-fifth from the number of leagues stated by Champlain, in order to arrive at the actual air line distance between the place where he landed and the Iroquois

fort.[1] If, therefore, we take one-fifth from twenty-seven and a half leagues, which is the mean of the two distances given by Champlain, it will leave twenty-two leagues, or fifty-three and a half miles, as the true distance, measured on an air line. As an example of over-estimates by Champlain himself, reference may be had to the width of Lake Ontario, which he says is "twenty-five leagues," an

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[1] Champlain's distances are stated in "leagues." Several, differing in length, were used by the French, under that name. Among them were the "*lieue de poste*" of $2\frac{42}{100}$ English miles — the "*lieue moyenne*" of $2\frac{70}{100}$ English miles, and the "*lieue géographique*" of $3\frac{33}{100}$ English miles. It is important, in discussing this question, to determine the length of the one used by Champlain. Neither his narrative, nor his map of 1632, affords any light on the subject. There is inscribed on a map published in Paris in 1664, entitled: "Le Canada fait par le Sr. de Champlain * * suivant les Mémoires de P. du Val," a scale of *Lieues Françoises chacune de 2,500 pas géométriques.*" It is fair to presume that the length of the league as given on this map is identical with the one used by Champlain. As a geometrical pace is $1\frac{62}{100}$ French metres, or $3\frac{78}{100}$ English feet, it follows that Champlain's league must be $2\frac{52}{100}$ English miles, differing slightly from the length of the *lieue de poste* as above stated. This conclusion would account for the discrepancy which has arisen from calling the old French league equivalent to three English miles. The English miles, stated in the text, have been computed on the basis of two and a half to a French league. Even if there were three, it would not change the result, or carry the expedition west of Onondaga Lake. By reckoning the league as equivalent to two and a half miles, many supposed discrepancies of early French travelers in America are reconciled, and their over-estimates of distances explained.

excess of one-fifth.[1] Also to the circumference of Oneida Lake, which he states at twenty-five or thirty leagues," an excess of one-fourth. Numerous other examples might be cited.

It may be interesting, in this connection, to compare Champlain's statement with those of the Jesuit Dablon, who traveled twice over the same route in 1655 and 1656, under much more favorable circumstances for correctly estimating the distances. He informs us that, in company with Father Chaumonot, he left Montreal on the 7th day of October, 1655, for the Onondaga country, and reached "*Otihatanguê*" (the mouth of Salmon river) by canoe on the 29th of the same month.[2] That he landed the next day, and prepared to go on foot to *Onondaga*. That on the first day of November, after going "*five good leagues*," he encamped for the night on the banks of a small stream. Early the next day he continued his journey for "*six or seven leagues* and encamped for the night in the open air. On the third, before sunrise, he resumed his way, and reached "*Tethi-roguen*," which he describes as "a river which issues from Lake *Goienho*" (Oneida Lake), and "remarkable as a rendezvous for a great number of fishermen." Here he passed the night in an Indian cabin. The distance traveled this day is not stated, but we may assume it to have been six leagues, which is about the average of the other days. On the fourth he went "*about six leagues*,"

[1] Laverdière's Champlain, p. 527.

[2] Relation of 1656, p. 7. Quebec edition.

and passed the night in an "open country," "*four leagues*," from Onondaga. On the fifth of November he reached the latter place,[1] having spent five days in traveling from the mouth of Salmon river, a distance, according to the narrative, of twenty-seven and a-half leagues. Inasmuch, however, as the Iroquois fort is claimed to have been on Onondaga Lake, five leagues north of the ancient village of Onondaga,[2] which the Jesuit reached on the fifth of November, the said five leagues should, for the purpose of comparison with Champlain, be deducted from the above twenty-seven and a-half leagues. To the resulting difference should be added, for the same reason, six and a-half leagues, being the distance from Stony Point to the mouth of the Salmon river, thus making, from the said Point to the fort, according to the Jesuit narrative, twenty-nine and a-half leagues, which is a little short of the extreme distance of thirty leagues stated by Champlain.

Leaving *Chaumonot* at Onondaga, *Dablon* set out on his return to Quebec on the second day of March, 1656,[3] over nearly the same route, and traveled that day *five leagues*. On the third he rested on account of the rain. On the fourth he traveled *six leagues* to Oneida Lake. Fearing to venture on the thin ice, he spent the next day on its banks. On the sixth, it was sufficiently frozen to enable him to cross at a point where the lake was a league and

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[1] Onondaga was situated a few miles south of the present city of Syracuse.

[2] Jesuit Relation for 1657, p. 14. Quebec edition.

[3] Jesuit Relation for 1656, p. 35. Quebec edition.

a-half broad. He reached the mouth of Salmon river on the eighth, a little before noon, consuming in travel, exclusive of detentions, four and a-half days. The rate of progress, after crossing Oneida Lake, is not given, but, estimating six leagues as an average day's travel, would make twenty-six leagues from the Onondaga village to the mouth of Salmon river. After allowing the same deductions and additions as in the case of his previous trip, it would leave twenty-seven and a-half leagues, which is the mean of the two distances stated by Champlain. By thus comparing Champlain's estimates with those of the Jesuit, it will be readily seen that the expedition of the former could not possibly have extended west of Onondaga Lake.

Having thus examined the reasons which have been urged in favor of locating the fort in question on Seneca territory, founded on the similarity between the names which the Hurons bestowed on the Iroquois and the *Entouhonorons*, and also the reasons for such location, based on the course of the "dotted line" laid down on Champlain's map, between the point where he landed and the said fort, and on the distances which Champlain states were traveled by him, between the same points, it now remains to state and consider the objections which exist against placing the location of the fort as far west as the Seneca country.

1st. The actual distance between the place of landing and the foot of Canandaigua Lake, measured on the shortest possible line, is ninety-six miles, or thirty-eight and a-half leagues. It would be absurd, however, to

suppose that the expedition could have followed so direct a course. On the contrary, in accomplishing the distance to the fort, it must have passed over, as stated on a previous page, at least one-fifth more than a straight line between the said points. This fact, without allowing anything for Champlain's over-estimate, would, in case the objective point were Canandaigua Lake, make the distance actually traveled at least forty-six leagues, or not less than one hundred and fifteen miles. If, as is claimed by some the fort were still further west, on a tributary of the Genesee,[1] it would add several leagues more to the difficulty. 2d. The design of the expedition was to attack an Iroquois tribe living south of Lake Ontario. The assailants were the Hurons, living on the eastern shore of the lake which bears their name. They started from their principal village, which was situated west of Lake Simcoe, on the borders of the Huron country nearest to the Iroquois.[2]

Now, if it were their object to attack the Senecas, the shortest and most feasible route to reach them would have been either in a southerly direction around the western extremity of Lake Ontario, through the territory of the friendly Neuter nation, who then lived on both sides of the Niagara, or by canoe directly across the lake, or by coasting along its western shore, landing, in either case,

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[1] Laverdière's Champlain, p. 528, note 1.

[2] Jesuit Relation, 1640, p. 90, Quebec edition. Laverdière's Champlain, p. 518, note 1.

near the mouth of the Genesee river. The fact that the expedition chose the circuitous and toilsome route by the river Trent, through crooked lakes and torturous channels, involving numerous portages, and traveled eastward for the entire length of Lake Ontario, crossing its eastern extremity in search of an enemy on its south side, affords a strong presumption that the enemy thus sought was located near that eastern extremity. 3d. If the object were to attack the Senecas, the Hurons and their allies would hardly have chosen a route which would separate them so far from their canoes, at the risk of being outflanked by the watchful and kindred Iroquois tribes whom they must pass on the way. After crossing the eastern end of Lake Ontario, it would have been much less hazardous and fatiguing to have coasted along its southern shore to Irondequoit bay, from whence the Senecas could easily be reached, as they were by Gallinée in 1669, and by De Nonville in 1687.

Having examined the arguments which have been urged in favor of the location of the Iroquois fort in the country of the Senecas, and noticed a few of the principal objections against it, some of the affirmative proofs, establishing its site on or near Onondaga Lake, remain to be considered.

A careful examination of Champlain's narrative will show that, as before stated, he must have landed on what has been designated as "*Pointe de Traverse*" or "Stony Point,"[5] in Jefferson county. It is the nearest and most feasible landing from the islands which are

grouped in the eastern extremity of Lake Ontario, and along which the expedition undoubtedly passed before reaching its southern shore.[1] It is well known that from the earliest times the Indians and voyageurs, as they crossed the Lake in rough weather, availed themselves of the protection of those islands. They form a continuous chain, stretching from shore to shore, embracing the Inner Ducks, Outer Ducks, Great Galloo, Little Galloo, Calf and Stony Islands. The distances between them are unequal, in no case exceeding seven miles. The expedition could not easily have landed directly upon the point in question, as it presents a perpendicular rocky bluff, washed at its base by the lake, and forms a bold and insurmountable barrier for some distance in either direction. By passing around the northern extremity of the point, now called "six town point," a safe and sheltered bay is accessible, at the bottom of which is the present harbor of Henderson. This convenient and secluded position was undoubtedly chosen by Champlain and his companions as a favorable point for leaving and concealing their canoes.[2] Having accomplished their debarkation, the invaders followed, for four leagues in a southerly

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[1] Champlain says, "There were large, fine islands on the passage."—*Laverdière's Champlain*, p. 526.

[2] A natural landing place of rock formation, existed there in olden time, known as the "Indian Wharf." A trail or portage road, 300 rods long, led from the landing to Stony Creek. See French's N. Y. State Gazetteer, p. 358. MS. letter of the Hon. Wm. C. Pierrepont, of Pierrepont manor, to the author.

direction, the sandy beach which still borders the lake as far south as Salmon river. It is about six and a-half leagues from Stony Point to that river. The many small streams and ponds mentioned by Champlain can easily be identified by the aid of a correct map. The "two small rivers" are undoubtedly those now known as the Big Sandy creek and Salmon river. The invaders were four days from the time of their landing in reaching the Iroquois fort. The narrative states that after passing the two small rivers above mentioned, "they crossed another issuing from a lake, which empties into that of the *Entouhonorons*."[1] This undoubtedly refers to Oneida river and Lake. "This Lake," says the narrative, "is about twenty five or thirty leagues in circumference,[2] contains beautiful islands, and is the place where the Iroquois *catch their fish*, which are there in abundance." After crossing Oneida river, the scouts encountered and captured a party of Iroquois, "*going to the fishery, distant four leagues from the enemy's fort.*" This locates the fort four leagues south of the outlet of Oneida Lake. The latter point was always a noted resort for Salmon fishery in the early history of the country. It is so referred to in one of *Dablon's* Journals above quoted, and in many other early narratives.

The expedition must have met the party of Iroquois, which included women and children, not far from the fishery and the village, which were only about four

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[1] Lake Ontario.

[2] These dimensions, are, as usual, over-stated.

leagues or ten miles apart. They were probably going from the latter to the former. This was on the 9th of October. *On the next day*, at 3 P. M., they reached the fort. It would have required two or three days more time, and sixty miles more of hard marching, to have arrived at Canandaigua Lake.

It is impossible, from the meagre details given by Champlain, to ascertain the *precise* locality of the fort. He places it near a small lake, and there is no site more probable, nor one which corresponds in more particulars to Champlain's description, than the banks of Onondaga Lake. The late Joshua V. H. Clark, author of the "History of Onondaga," states that traces of an ancient Indian fortification were discovered by the first settlers, on the east side of that lake, near the present village of Liverpool. These may have been the remains of the fort in question. There is reason to believe that Monsieur Dupuis and his companions, including several Jesuit missionaries, occupied the same locality in 1656. It is described by the Jesuits[1] as a beautiful, convenient and advantageous eminence, overlooking Lake Gannentaa (Onondaga Lake) and all the neighboring country, and

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[1] On the first settlement of the country, the outlines of a fortification at this point were plainly visible, of which a sketch was made in 1797, by Judge Geddes, then Deputy Surveyor General of New York. A copy is given in the second volume of Clark's Onondaga, page 147. A spring exists, at the present time, near the site of the fort, called Gannentaa Spring.

abounding in numerous fresh water springs.[1] Its distance from the chief village of the Onondagas, where burned from time immemorial the ancient council fire of the Iroquois Confederacy, is stated to be four leagues, which would indicate that its location must have been near Liverpool.

It is also supposed that the *Count de Frontenac* encamped in the same place, when he invaded the Onondaga country in 1696, and that Col. Van Schaick occupied the identical ground while on his expedition against the Onondagas in 1779.[2] It was a position which undoubtedly commended itself to the sagacious Iroquois as eminently suitable for a defensive structure, and was thus early used for that purpose.

In the discussion of this question, I have endeavored fully and fairly to present the points, and to give due force to the arguments which have been urged in favor of the identity of the *Entouhonorons* with the *Senecas*, and of the location of the Iroquois fort in the territory of the latter. It is submitted that the weight of testimony is decidedly, if not conclusively, against those propositions, and that we must look on the banks of the Onondaga Lake, in the heart of the central canton of the great Iroquois Confederacy, for the site of that rude fortification which, more than two centuries and a half ago, so bravely

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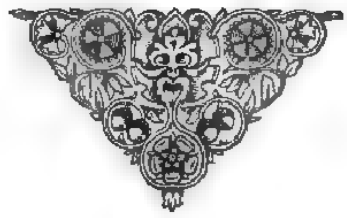
[1] Relation 1657, p. 14. Quebec edition.

[2] Clark's Onondaga, Vol. I, p. 256.

and successfully resisted the allied Hurons and Algonkins of the north-west, aided by Champlain and his firearms, and after repeated assaults and a siege of several days compelled the assailants to abandon the enterprise, and retreat ignominiously from the Iroquois country.




LAKE ONTARIO
JEFFERSON
OSWEGO COUNTY

CHAMPLAIN'S EXPEDITION OF 1615.

REPLY TO DR. SHEA AND GENERAL CLARK.[1]

THE first number of this magazine (Jan., 1877) contains an article on the Expedition of Champlain against the Onondagas, in 1615. It was founded on a communication read before the New York Historical Society in March, 1849, in which I had discussed the evidences which exist as to the route of the expedition, and the site of the Iroquois fort which it besieged. My position having been questioned by several eminent historians, who claimed a more western location for the fort, the main object of my last article was to fortify my former conclusions. In it I endeavored to trace Champlain's route across Lake Ontario to its south shore, and from thence to his objective point. While my location of the fort in the Onondaga, rather than the Seneca country, has generally been approved, some difference of opinion is entertained as to its exact site, as well as to the precise route by which it was reached.

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[1] First published in the "Magazine of American History," Aug., 1878.—*Ed.*

General James S. Clark, of Auburn, in a paper read before the Buffalo and New York Historical Societies, and Georges Geddes, Esq., of Camillus, in an article in the last September number of this magazine, Vol. I, p 521, while they agree that the site was in the Onondaga country, dissent from my views in other particulars. Dr. John Gilmary Shea, in a recent article in the Penn Historical Magazine, Vol. II., p. 102, coincides in the main with General Clark. I am glad that a writer of Dr. Shea's ability has taken the field. I have read his paper attentively, and fail to see that it has disproved any of my main positions.

It may be proper to state that General Clark's address, thus reviewed and endorsed by Dr. Shea, has never been published. It was delivered before the above societies during my absence in Europe. Since my return, I have endeavored, without success, to obtain a copy. I can only judge of its contents from the references in Dr. Shea's review. That the general is accurately quoted therein, may be inferred from his having reproduced the article, with verbal corrections, in an Auburn journal.

In a published address, delivered last September before the Pioneers' Association at Syracuse, General Clark stated the conclusions to which his investigations had led him, but gave no facts or arguments to support them. In doing so, he used the following emphatic language:

"I claim especially to understand the record of Champlain by following his narrative *verbatim et literatim*, and accepting his estimates of distances, his map and illustra-

tions. I stand on no uncertain ground. I understand this question thoroughly. I know that I am right. I desire no misunderstanding on this question. I take the affirmative and throw down the gauntlet to all comers; and if any choose to enter the list, I have the most unbounded confidence that it will not be me that will be borne from the field discomfited. I identify the site as certainly as any gentleman present can identify his wife at the breakfast table after ten years of married life," etc., etc.

It is to be regretted that General Clark has not accompanied his challenge, so forcibly stated, with the proofs and reasons on which he relies. The public could then judge whether such historians as O'Callaghan, Parkman, Broadhead, Laverdière and his neighbor Geddes are, as he asserts, mistaken in their conclusions. It is quite evident that General Clark is an enthusiast in his Study of Aboriginal History. A certain amount of zeal may be desirable in the investigation of such subjects, but conscientious convictions, however decidedly entertained, are not always in harmony with just conclusions. It is only by patient and candid investigation, by comparing, weighing and sifting the evidence, that historical truth can be elicited.

I will consider in their order: *First.* The authenticity and accuracy of the map. *Second.* The starting point of the Expedition on Lake Ontario. *Third.* The route across the lake. *Fourth.* The landing on the south shore. *Fifth.* The march on the beach. *Sixth.* The inland route to the fort. *Seventh.* The location of the fort.

THE AUTHENTICITY AND ACCURACY OF THE MAP.—In order to account for the many manifest discrepancies between Champlain's text of 1619 and the map annexed to the edition of 1632, I suggested that the map and the latter edition were not the work of Champlain and never passed under his personal supervision. I gave my reasons for this opinion on pages 5 and 6, Vol. I, of this magazine.

Dr. Shea replies to this, that "the map is evidently Champlain's, and he was too good a hydrographer for us to reject his map as a guide for parts he actually visited." This, however, is assuming the authenticity of the map, the very point in issue, without noticing the objections I advanced. If the map were actually constructed by Champlain, it is of course competent evidence, without however being conclusive where it differs from the text. It is not possible, however, to reconcile the two. Where they disagree, one or the other must yield, and in accordance with well settled rules of evidence, the text must govern.

The most competent critics who have examined the edition of 1632, to which alone the map is annexed, including Laverdière, Margry and Harrisse, agree that it bears internal evidence of having been compiled, by a foreign hand, from the various editions previously published. No map accompanied the original narrative of the expedition, published in 1619.

I claim that by inspection and comparison with reliable topographical maps of the country traversed by Champlain, no ingenuity can torture the dotted line on the chart into an accurate representation of the route he

pursued, as described in his text. The discrepancies will be indicated, as the various points on the route are passed in review.

I trust my readers will follow my argument with the Champlain *fac-simile*, which is annexed to my article in Vol. I of this magazine, and a reliable chart of the easterly end of Lake Ontario. All my measurements are taken from the Lake Survey Charts, recently published by the United States Government, and the most reliable maps attainable of Jefferson, Oswego, Onondaga and Madison counties.

THE STARTING POINT.—The narrative states that the expedition descended what is now known as Trent River, which empties into Lake Ontario, and after short days' journeys, reached the border of Lake Ontario. It then proceeds. I give the original French, as Champlain's works are quite rare, and a copy from the edition of 1619, modernizing the old French orthography: "où etans, nous fimes la traverse en l'un des bouts, tirant à l'orient, qui est l'entrée de la grande rivière St. Laurens, par la hauteur de quarante-trois degrés de latitude, où il y a de belles iles fort grandes en ce passage."

Where then was the starting point of the expedition? Gen. Clark says "Kingston." Dr. Shea says, "from a peninsula beyond (east of?) Quinté Bay, on the north shore," agreeing with Gen. Clark that it must have been at Kingston. There is some confusion among geographers as to the extent of Quinté Bay. Some represent it as reaching to Kingston.

Quinté Bay proper, according to the best authorities, extends no farther eastward than the eastern extremity of Prince Edward Peninsula, called Point Pleasant. It is often called the River Trent, being as it were an extension of that stream.

Champlain evidently considered, and correctly so, that when he had passed Point Pleasant, he had arrived at the Lake. He says that the river he descended "forms the passage into the lake," and a little farther on "we traveled by short days' journeys as far as the border of Lake Ontario, where having arrived, we crossed," &c.

Having fixed the starting point at Kingston, Gen. Clark claims that from thence he "ran east a distance not given, thence southerly to a point fourteen leagues (35 miles) from the commencement of the River St. Lawrence." Champlain says, the *crossing* embraced fourteen leagues. How the starting point at Kingston, much less the extension of the route eastward from Kingston, is "reconciled with the map," does not appear.

I claim the starting point to have been opposite the eastern end of Point Pleasant, and in this I am sustained by both map and text.

According to the text, the crossing began as soon as they reached the lake, and that occurred when they passed out of the river (or bay) at Point Pleasant. Champlain does not say that they went an inch east of that Point. I quite agree with Dr. Shea's translation of the words "tirant à l'orient," and of the passage in which it occurs. Those words have no reference to the *direction*

pursued by Champlain but to the *end of the lake* which he crossed.

"Having arrived at the borders of the lake, we crossed," he says, "one of its extremities which, extending eastward, forms the entrance of the great River St. Lawrence, in 43 degrees of latitude, where there are very large beautiful islands on the passage." I suggested this interpretation some months ago to the Superintendent of the translation of Champlain's Voyages of 1603, 1613 and 1619, now being made for the Prince Society. I am inclined to believe that General Clark's extension of the route eastward to Kingston, originated in a mistranslation of those words. His construction of the route certainly requires "*tirant à l'orient*" to refer to the *direction* pursued by Champlain, which is in conflict with Dr. Shea's translation, while the route I propose is in entire harmony with it.

Dr. Shea further says, "That Champlain was actually at the head of the St. Lawrence, of which he gives the latitude, seems almost certain. For one who had founded a trading settlement on the lower river, the examination and exact locating of the head of the river, when he was so near it, seem imperatively demanded."

It must be remembered, however, that Champlain was on a war expedition, aided by only a few of his own countrymen, with several hundred Huron and Algonkin warriors, approaching a hostile country. Under such circumstances he would hardly have gone so far east, and so much out of his way, to make geographical or hydro-

graphical observations, either during a cautious approach or a hurried retreat.

Although Champlain gives the latitude of the entrance of the river, instead of that furnishing an argument in favor of his having been there, its effect is directly the reverse, for the latitude which he records at forty-three degrees is quite erroneous, and would place the entrance as far south as Syracuse. The true latitude is 44° 6′, a difference of over a degree. A gross error for a Captain in the French marine to make from actual observation.

THE ROUTE ACROSS THE LAKE.—If I am right in fixing the starting point opposite Point Pleasant, it would follow, both from the text and the map, that the route extended southerly, between that point and Amherst Island, to the False Ducks, and along the Main Duck, Galloo, and Stony Islands, which stretch across the lake in the direction of Stony Point. That this was the course pursued may be inferred from the following considerations:

First. On examining the Champlain map, the line indicating the route starts from the northern shore of the lake, and passes directly south between Point Pleasant and the first island easterly therefrom, which would correspond with Amherst Island. The next island on the map east of Amherst Island would correspond with Simcoe Island, and the next, lying in the entrance of the river, would correspond with Wolf or Long Island. These three islands constitute all that are represented on the map as lying in the east end of the lake, except those along which I claim that the expedition crossed.

Now if, as claimed by General Clark, the crossing was along Simcoe, Wolf and Grenadier Islands, which closely hug the eastern shore of the lake, then those islands would have been so represented on the map. The chain of islands along which they did pass, as shown by the dotted line, are laid down at some distance from the eastern shore. If it be claimed that the map refers to the inner ones lying close to the eastern shore, then the outer chain, equally conspicuous and in plain sight of the others, are not represented at all. To a party crossing the outer or western chain. the islands lying in-shore would scarcely be distinguishable from the adjacent land, while the outer chain, with nothing behind them but the open lake, could easily be seen from the inner islands. I am aware that the dotted line on the map exhibits a general southerly course, but the expedition, following the islands indicated by me, fulfills the conditions of the text, by crossing from the north to the south side of the lake, and for nearly a third of the way on a due south course. The map is on an exceedingly small scale, rudely drawn and nowhere preserves with any accuracy the points of compass in representing either the crossing of the lake, or the inland route as claimed by General Clark. Where the map and text are irreconcilable, the former must be rejected. It could not be expected that a chart, 33 inches long by 20 inches wide, embracing a territory extending from Newfoundland to Lake Superior, and from the frozen ocean to the Carolinas, could exhibit a route like that traveled by Champlain, on a scale of sixty miles to the inch, without presenting numerous discrepancies.

They are so gross, even in those places actually visited by Champlain, that it is difficult to see how he could possibly have been its author. It was not drawn in reference to this special expedition of 1615, but to illustrate all his voyages in America. *Second*. Champlain says, on arriving at the northern bank of the lake, "Nous fimes la traverse"—"we *crossed* it." He does not intimate that he *coasted* along its northern border for 22 miles, and then again around its eastern shore. Effect must be given to the expression, "We *crossed* it." *Third*. Champlain gives the distance he consumed in crossing as fourteen leagues, or thirty-five miles. "Nous fimes environ quatorze lieues pour passer jusques à l'autre coté du lac, tirant au sud, vers les terres des ennemis." The actual distance by the way of the Ducks, Galloo, Calf and Stony Islands to Stony Point, where they would first reach land, is 38¾ miles. To Henderson Bay it is 44 miles; to Stony Creek Cove, 42 miles; to Little Sandy Lake, 53½ miles. The actual distance from the same starting point, via Kingston and Simcoe, Wolf, Grenadier and Stony Islands, to Little Sandy Lake, is 70 miles, and from Kingston, 48½ miles.

From this it appears that the actual distances on all the supposed routes exceed in each instance Champlain's estimate. It will be noticed, however, that the excess is the greatest on the route claimed by General Clark. The probabilities, therefore, so far as relates to the length of the crossing, as given by Champlain, are in favor of the route I have suggested. *Fourth*. The expedition coming

from the *west*, would naturally use the shortest route to reach its destination. That parties were accustomed to cross by the chain of Ducks, Galloo, Calf and Stony Islands, is substantiated by the traditions of the Canada Indians. Hence, the point on the peninsula from which they embarked, was named by the French voyageurs, Point Traverse, and is so called to this day. The islands lying along the eastern shore of the lake were used by Indians and voyageurs ascending or descending the St. Lawrence.

THE LANDING.—I suggested in my article that the expedition probably landed in the secluded cove now known as Henderson Bay, sheltered by Stony Point. Not that the text or map of Champlain indicates that. or any other particular place with any certainty, but

First. Because it appeared a convenient and appropriate locality. It did not seem probable that Champlain, accompanied by so large an army, would boldly land on an enemy's shore, exposed to observation for twenty miles in two directions, with scarcely a hope of successfully concealing the canoes which were so essential for his return voyage. *Second.* Because Henderson Bay, long previous to the settlement of the country, had been a favorite landing place for the Indians passing to and from Canada, as is well attested by tradition. The name of "Indian Wharf" still bears witness to the fact. A portage road led from the landing to Stony Creek, called by the French the "rivière à Monsieur le Comte." That the expedition landed there, was a mere suggestion derived from the

probabilities of the case. I do not insist upon it. In good weather an equally favorable landing could have been made in the small cove at the mouth of Stony Creek, though not so secluded from observation. It is not possible, from the meagre details of the narrative, to state with any certainty, much less to prove the exact point of landing. That it took place at Little Sandy Lake, selected by General Clark, is not probable, and for the following reasons:

Assuming for the present what I expect to prove in the sequel—that the expedition followed the sandy beach of the lake no farther south than Salmon river, where it left for the interior—we must look, according to the text of Champlain, for the following conditions between the places where he landed and where he left for the interior.

THE MARCH ON THE BEACH.—Champlain says: "Les sauvages cachèrent tous leurs canaux dans les bois, proche du rivage. Nous fimes par terre quelques quatre lieuës sur une plage de sable, ou je remarquai un pays fort agreable et beau, traversé de plusieurs petits ruisseaux, et deux petites rivières, qui se dechargent au susdit lac, et force etangs et prairies." "The Indians concealed all their canoes in the woods near the shore. We proceeded by land about four leagues over a sandy beach, where I observed a very agreeable and beautiful country, intersected by many small brooks and two small rivers which empty into the said lake, and many lakelets and meadows."

On referring to the map, we find it furnishes nothing in addition to the above, except it represents three small

bodies of water as lying along the route parallel with the shore, which are undoubtedly those referred to by Champlain under the name of "Etangs." There are still existing three such collections of water between Stony Point and Salmon river, two of which are known by the name of North and South ponds, and the largest by the name of Little Sandy Lake. The latter is about 3,000 acres in extent. Dr. Shea says: "General Clark identifies the three small lakes noted on the map, as North and South Ponds, in Jefferson county, and Little Sandy Lake." But if Champlain landed at Little Sandy Lake as claimed by General Clark, he would not have passed by North and South Ponds, as they lie north of that landing. The probabilities exist, therefore, that the landing took place farther north, and either in Henderson Bay, or at the mouth of Stony Creek, as before stated.

Dr. Shea says: "Mr. Marshall holds that the expedition passed Salmon river. The next stream is Salmon Creek, which Mr. Marshall holds is the Oswego." Dr. Shea has entirely misunderstood me in this particular. I claimed that the expedition left the lake at Salmon *River*. I did not even name Salmon *Creek*, nor did I state that the expedition ascended or even saw the Oswego river. I said that it crossed from the mouth of Salmon river to the outlet of Oneida Lake, and from thence passed to the fort, distant four leagues from the fishery.

One reason I gave for discrediting the map was that the dotted line seemed to enter the "Oswego river," that being the only stream having numerous lakes at its sources;

but I distinctly averred that such a route was "highly improbable, unnecessarily circuitous, and could not possibly be reconciled with the text of Champlain." Vol. I, p. 6 of this magazine.

THE INLAND ROUTE.—My reasons in favor of the mouth of Salmon river as the point of departure for the interior are as follows:

First. It is the southernmost and last point on the lake in the direct line of travel between Stony Point and the foot of Oneida Lake. The mouth of Salmon *Creek* lies west of that line, requiring a detour that would increase the travel without affording any corresponding advantage. *Second.* The mouth of Salmon river — the *Otihatanguê* of the early French maps — has always been a noted place in Indian history. It is mentioned on the oldest MS. maps of the Jesuit missionaries found in the French Archives at Paris. A trail is laid down on several of said maps, running direct from that point to the great fishery, called "Techiroguen." Franquelin, the celebrated geographer to Louis XIV., in his "*Carte du pays des Iroquois*" of 1679, calls the trail "*Chemin de Techiroguen à la Famine.*" La Famine was a name applied by the Jesuits to the mouth of the Salmon river, in allusion to the sufferings experienced there by Monsieur Du Puys and his companions, in July, 1656, from want of provisions. It has generally been called by later writers, "*Oahihonoüaghé,*" which may be a dialectical variation from *Otihatanguê.* A MS. map of 1679, says: "it is the place where the most of the Iroquois and Loups land to

go on the beaver trade at New York." It is evidently an Onondaga word, and is given by Morgan as "*Gä-hen-wä-ga.*" It bears a strong resemblance to the name applied to the place by Pouchot and other writers. There is, therefore, little doubt but what the expedition left the lake for the interior from this well known point of debarkation. *Third.* Champlain says: "Tous les canaux etans ainsi cachez, nous laissames le rivage du lac," etc. "All the canoes being thus concealed we left the border of the lake," etc. Dr. Shea thinks that the text implies that the canoes were twice concealed. I do not so understand it. If all were concealed on landing, there would be none left to conceal at the end of the march on the beach. The second statement, "All our canoes being thus concealed," is, therefore, but a repetition of the first expression, "The Indians concealed all their canoes in the woods near the shore." *Fourth.* Champlain's description of his route after leaving the lake, is quite brief and unsatisfactory. "Nous continuames notre chemin par terre, environ 25 ou 30 lieuës: Durant quatre journées nous traversames quantité de ruisseaux, et une rivière, procedante d'un lac qui se decharge dans celui des Entouhonorons. Ce lac est de l'etendue de 25 ou 30 lieuës de circuit, où il y a de belles ilea, et est le lieu où les Iroquois ennemis font leur peche de poisson, qui est en abondance."

"We continued our way by land about 25 or 30 leagues. During four days we crossed numerous brooks and a river flowing from a lake which empties into Lake Ontario. This lake is 25 or 30 leagues in circumference, contains

beautiful islands, and is the place where the hostile Iroquois catch their fish, which are in abundance." It will be noticed that no mention is made of any of the lakes which are so conspicuously laid down on the map, contiguous to the dotted line, except Oneida Lake. On the 9th of October, the Indians met and captured eleven of the enemy, who were going to the fishery, distant 4 leagues from the enemy's fort.

The expedition reached the fort at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the 10th. There is nothing in the *text* of Champlain to indicate the site of the fort, except its situation near an unfailing body of water, which Champlain calls "*un etang.*" Dr. Shea translates it "pond," that being its primitive signification. But as used by Champlain and other French writers of the 17th century, it has a more enlarged signification, having reference, in numerous instances, to a small lake. Those which are laid down on the Champlain map opposite the route along the sandy beach above referred to, are called "*etangs*" by Champlain. One of them is admitted by General Clark to be "Little Sandy Lake." Bouillet says in his *Dictionaire des Sciences, etc.*, "*Etangs naturels*" are small lakes of fresh water, produced by rains or springs." Lake Pontchitrain, near New Orleans, 40 miles long by 24 broad, is called "*un etang*" by La Salle in 1685.

There is therefore no such limitation to the meaning of the word *etang*, as to render it inapplicable to a lake as large as Onondaga. Champlain, having recently passed

through Lakes Huron and Ontario, would very naturally apply a diminutive term to so small a body of water.

THE LOCATION OF THE FORT.—It is utterly impossible, from the Champlain text and map, aided by the best modern charts, and an accurate knowledge of the country, to establish, with any certainty, the exact position of the Iroquois fort. The location which I suggested was on or near Onondaga Lake, 4 leagues or 10 miles from the great Iroquois fishery at the foot of Oneida Lake. The limits of this article forbid my presenting at this time my reasons for this conclusion; I will therefore confine myself to an examination of General Clark's position. He locates the fort on Nichols Pond, in the north-east corner of the town of Fenner, in Madison county, 3 miles east of the village of Perryville, and 10 miles by an air line, south of the east end of Oneida Lake. The following are some of the reasons suggested by Champlain's text and engraved view, against this proposed location.

First. Nichols Pond is over 24 miles, measured on a direct line, from the outlet of Oneida Lake, where the expedition crossed that stream. By any route practicable in 1615, it could not have been reached by less than 30 miles travel, owing to the intervening impassable swamps. Champlain states that the fort was 4 leagues (10 miles) from the "fishery," a distance more likely to be exaggerated than understated. *Second.* The expedition reached the fort at 3 P. M. on the 10th of October, the day after they had met and captured a party of Iroquois, who were on their way to the fishery. Now if the fishery referred

to was on Oneida Lake, and within 10 miles of Nichols Pond, it must have been directly north of the latter. How then could Champlain have met a party going north from the fort to the lake, when his course, if bound for Nichols Pond, was on a line from the west end of that lake in a direction south of east? The lines of travel of the two parties could not have intersected. *Third.* Nichols Pond does not correspond in important particulars, with Champlain's engraved view of the site of the fort. I do not attach much importance to that birds-eye sketch, evidently fanciful in most respects, but as General Clark and Dr. Shea rely on its correctness, it is fair to use it in testing the soundness of their positions. The original is a well-executed copper plate line engraving, inserted in the editions of 1619 and 1632. The copies reproduced by Laverdière, and in this Magazine (Vol. I., p. 561), are wood cuts, and do not, of course, do justice to the original. The latter represents the fortified village as bounded on two sides by two streams, emptying *into* the lake from elevated ground in the rear; whereas the inlets into Nichols Pond are on opposite sides, not contiguous to each other. The pond is quite insignificant, scarcely an acre in extent, nearly surrounded by a marsh of perhaps four acres more, which may, in wet seasons, have formerly been overflowed. *Fourth.* The view represents the lake as much broader than the palisaded water front of the fort, and the fortified village as quite extensive, much larger than Nichols Pond could ever have been. The latter therefore fails to answer the conditions

required by the engraving. *Fifth.* General Clark says, that, "the fortified village on Nichols Pond was occupied from 1600 to 1630." The mean between the two happens to be the exact year of Champlain's invasion. How has General Clark ascertained those dates? How does he know that the village had not ceased to exist long anterior to Champlain's invasion? In fixing limits to the periods of aboriginal occupancy, it would be more satisfactory to have the evidence cited. In regard to this village, if one of any considerable extent existed on Nichols Pond, all we can certainly know is, that it belonged to the Stone Age. Who can tell when its fires were first kindled—when, or how they were finally extinguished? History, and even tradition are silent *Sixth.* General Clark concedes that the expedition was directed against, and besieged a fort of the Onondagas. Why then does he seek to locate it on a pond in the ancient territory of the Oneidas? *Seventh.* The site of the fort, as claimed by General Clark, is on the water-shed between the sources of the Susquehanna and the tributaries of Oneida Lake, an elevation of nearly 1,000 feet above the latter. To reach it would have involved an ascent so difficult and toilsome for an army like Champlain's, that he would hardly have failed to notice the embarrassments in his narrative. *Eighth.* The siege lasted six days. If the fort had been on the heights of Fenner, a beacon light in its neighborhood could have flashed a summons to the confederate tribes, and brought such prompt assistance that the besiegers would speedily have been attacked and over-

whelmed. Champlain would hardly have trusted himself so long in a hostile country, and so far from his landing. *Ninth.* Champlain mentions the islands in Oneida Lake. General Clark assumes the knowledge of their existence could only have been derived from their having been seen by Champlain from the hills near Nichols Pond, forgetting they are only four miles distant, and in plain sight, of the place where he crossed the Oneida outlet. *Tenth.* Champlain says they raised the siege of the fort, and began their retreat on the 16th of October, and reached their canoes on the 18th, a march quite incredible, if from so distant a point as Nichols Pond, encumbered as they were with their wounded, and impeded by a driving snow storm on the last day.

Having discussed the location of the fort, aided by the text and engraved view of Champlain, let us now see what assistance can be derived from the map, claimed by General Clark and Dr. Shea to be so accurate and authentic. Whenever the text and map agree, they must be accepted as conclusive. Where they do not, and particularly in those instances where the map differs from well authenticated modern surveys, I prefer to reject it, whether it was made by Champlain or not

That it does not agree in important particulars, either with the text or with the actual topography of the country, is clearly evident, as I have already shown and will now endeavor to point out more in detail. The map differs from the text, *First.* In landing the expedition directly at the point on the south shore of Lake Ontario,

where it passed into the interior, instead of first carrying it for at least "four leagues along the sandy beach of the lake," as clearly represented by the text. *Second.* In representing Champlain to have landed at a stream—claimed by General Clark to be Little Salmon Creek—and to have passed directly inland from the mouth of that stream, and to have crossed it twice before reaching the fort. *Third.* In representing, at the sources of that creek thus crossed, three large and two small lakes, near the largest two of which the expedition passed. If, as General Clark holds, neither of those lakes is Oneida Lake, then the five lakes thus delineated on the map are not noticed in the text at all. Champlain is utterly silent in regard to them, and rightfully so, for in point of fact *there are no such lakes in existence.* They will be sought for in vain on any reliable map of the country. *Fourth.* The map differs from the text in another important particular, that is, if the theory advanced by General Clark and Dr. Shea is correct. The route, as indicated on the map, after winding among those mythical lakes, and leaving the sources of the Little Salmon, passes directly by a south-westerly course to the Iroquois fort This fort is located, *by the map*, on the easterly end of a lake, assumed by both General Clark and Dr. Shea to be Oneida Lake, the outlet of which flows into Lake Ontario. If it is not Oneida Lake, then that lake is not represented on the map at all, unless it is one of the five imaginary lakes on the sources of the Little Salmon, which is disclaimed by General Clark. But the route of the expedition, as shown by the map, instead of cross-

ing the outlet of what he claims to be Oneida Lake, as distinctly asserted by the text, does not go near it. Dr. Shea says, General Clark and Mr. Marshall agree that Champlain crossed that outlet. I certainly do, because the text asserts it. But the map contradicts it. It is for General Clark to reconcile the two. Both General Clark and Dr. Shea repudiate the map when they say, "the dotted line of the march on the map, to coincide with Champlain's text, should have continued across Oneida outlet, which it already approaches on the map." They are in error in saying that it approaches the outlet. The whole length of the lake lies between them. If the dotted line had crossed the outlet, where, on the hypothesis of General Clark, would it then have gone? *Fifth.* If the map locates the fort at the east end of Oneida Lake, as it certainly does on the theory of General Clark, what then becomes of his location on Nichols Pond, at least 10 miles in a direct line south of that lake? *Sixth.* The map places the fort on a small lake, the outlet of which empties into Lake Ontario. But the waters of Nichols Pond flow into Oneida Lake, first passing through Cowasselon, Canaserago and Chittenango Creeks. How is this discrepancy reconciled?

Dr. Shea impugns the correctness of the *fac-simile* map in one particular. He says: "In the reproduction in the magazine the dotted line goes to the town; in the original, however, it stops before reaching the lake near which the town is placed." I do not understand the force of this criticism. Both the original and *fac-simile* place the town

on the lake. The dotted line of the *fac-simile* quite reaches the town, while that of the original falls two or three dots short of it. The line of the original is evidently intended to exhibit the route as extending to the town whether carried quite to it or not. Does Dr. Shea mean to be understood that the expedition did not reach the town by the line indicated?

The considerations which I have presented conclusively show that the map and the text are irreconcilable, and that one or the other must, in some of the particulars, be rejected. I prefer, for the reasons already stated, to be governed by the text. Yet Dr. Shea says that "General Clark seeks a theory which will reconcile the text and the map." Whether he has found it the reader can now decide. The effort to harmonize what cannot be reconciled has led to much of the obscurity and confusion which have involved this subject. The route of the expedition, as claimed in my two articles, is certainly the most natural, the most feasible, and the most in harmony with the narrative of Champlain. No other across the lake, and inland to the fort, presents so few objections, and no other which has yet been suggested can stand the test of critical examination. As to the location of the fort, I reached the conclusion, after a careful consideration of all the data that could be obtained — a comparison of the map and text of Champlain, a study of the topography of the country, aided by the best maps attainable, and by correspondence with persons familiar with the various localities—that the objective point of the expedition, the

fortified village of the Onondagas, was on the lake which bears their name.

I have seen nothing in the publications of General Clark, or in the learned article of Dr. Shea, to disturb my first impressions. Certainly no other place so free from objection has been pointed out. The strong language used by General Clark in support of his views, while it is in keeping with his enthusiastic convictions, is not justified by his facts or reasons. His conclusions are valuable, to the extent only in which they are sustained by reliable data. I understand that he has ready for the press, a work on the "Homes and Migrations of the Iroquois." Possibly it will contain his views more at large on the questions here discussed. Whenever any additional facts and arguments to disprove my positions are presented, I will give them a candid and careful examination. I am constrained to believe, however, that we cannot hope for any new data, but must be content to rest the case on the scanty records of Champlain, the testimony of the early travelers, and the few relics, which time has spared, of the era in which the Iroquois met and successfully resisted the firearms of the white man, in the heart of Central New York.

CHAMPLAIN'S ASTROLABE.

DISCOVERY OF AN ASTROLABE SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN LOST BY CHAMPLAIN IN 1613.*

I SEND herewith, as requested, a photographic representation of an astrolabe found in August, 1867, on the north-east half of lot 12, second range, township of Ross, county of Renfrew, in Ontario, Canada. The instrument is supposed to have been lost by Champlain in his expedition up the Ottawa in 1613. It is made of brass, and weighs about three pounds. Its external diameter is $5\frac{11}{16}$ inches; so that the copy is about three-fifths of the size of the original. Its thickness at the top is one-eighth, and at the bottom six sixteenths of an inch. I am indebted for the photograph, and valuable suggestions, to the courtesy of my friend Wm. Kingsford, Esq., of the Department of Public Works in Canada. Also to Dr. Taché of Ottawa.

The astrolabe was found in a good state of preservation, covered with vegetation, on the old portage road, which, as a substitute for the difficult and dangerous rapids of the Ottawa, in its long detour between the present *Port-*

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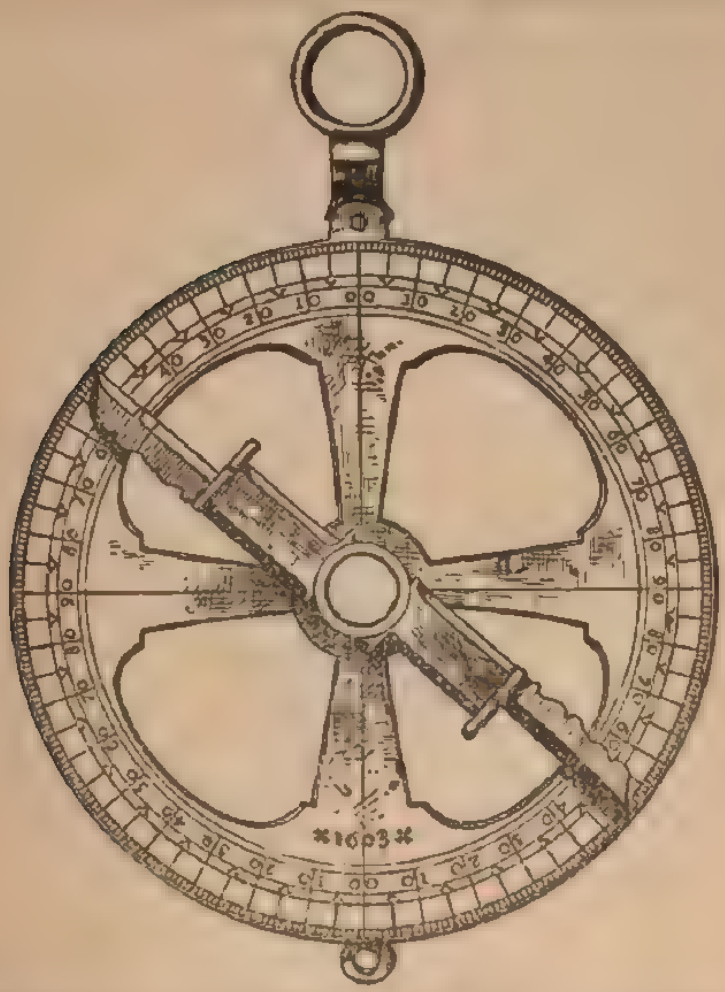
age du Fort and the upper Allumette Lake, pursues a shorter route by the way of the Muskrat and Mud Lakes.

The date inscribed on the original is 1603. Each quarter of the circular limb is divided into degrees, commencing at the top and bottom and running each way—that is, right and left, from one to ninety. A ring, attached by a hinge to the zenith, served to suspend it during an observation. A moveable index, turning on the centre, carried two sights, through which the rays of the sun could freely pass when its altitude was taken.

The astrolabe was formerly—before the invention of the Hadley quadrant—much used for astronomical purposes. A very good observation could be taken with it, if well constructed and of sufficient weight to make it steady. The proofs that the one in question belonged to Champlain, and was lost by him at the spot where it was found, though not conclusive, are strongly presumptive.

Champlain was a captain in the French marine, and had made many voyages prior to 1613, the year in which the astrolabe is supposed to have been lost. He was the author of a treatise on navigation, in which he advises navigators to become familiar with the use of the astrolabe. It is therefore quite probable that he would carry with him in his various expeditions, the kind of instrument then in use for taking observations for the latitude. It is certain, from Champlain's narrative, that he traveled over the portage road in which the astrolabe was found. He states that in ascending the Ottawa he reached the *Chaudiere Falls* on the 4th, the *Rapide des*

Chats on the 5th and the island of *Sainte Croix* and the



Portage du Fort on the 6th of June, 1613. At this latter place the old portage road above alluded to commenced,

and in passing over it the expedition consumed a part of the 6th and the whole of the 7th of June. It was during their march on the 7th that the astrolabe is supposed to have been dropped. In describing their difficulties on that day, Champlain says: "We were greatly troubled in making this portage, being myself loaded with three arquebuses, as many paddles, my cloak and some small articles. I encouraged my men, who were loaded yet heavier, and suffered more from the musquitoes than from their burdens." Under the circumstances thus related, it is not surprising that the overburdened party should have lost some of their valuables on the way.

It further appears from the narrative, that Champlain must have had the astrolabe with him on the 30th of May and on the 4th and 6th of June, for under date of May 30th, when at the entrance of Lake St. Louis, he says: "I *took* the latitude of this place, and found it 45° 18′." Under date of June 4th, when at Chaudiere Falls, he says: "I *took* the latitude of this place, and found it to be 45° 38′." Again on the 6th of June, when at the *Portage du Fort*, he says: "I *took* the latitude of this place, which was 46° 40′." (See Laverdière's Champlain, Vol. I, pp. 444, 449, 451.) These three latitudes could not have been *taken* without the use of an instrument.

The next latitude given by Champlain was that of the island *Des Allumettes*, a day or two after he had passed the above mentioned portage. If, however, he had lost his astrolabe, he could not have "taken" an observation, and must give it by estimation. And so he does. He

says: "The island is in 47 degrees of latitude." A little further on he says: "I was in 47 degrees of latitude and 296 degrees of longitude." In neither of the last two instances does he state, as he did before he lost his instrument, "I took the latitude." The presumption is therefore strengthened that after the 7th of June, when, according to his narrative, he had passed the spot where the astrolabe was found, he was forced to *estimate* his latitude in consequence of the loss of that instrument.

THE BUILDING AND VOYAGE OF THE GRIFFON IN 1679.[1]

ON the seventh day of August, 1679, two centuries ago, a small vessel left her anchorage near the foot of Squaw Island, and ascended the strong rapids of the Niagara into Lake Erie. She was a peculiar craft, of foreign model, full rigged and equipped, having many of the appointments of a man-of-war. A battery of seven small cannon, with some musquetry, constituted her armament. A flag, bearing the device of an eagle, floated at her mast-head, and on her bow she bore a carved griffin, in honor of the arms of Count Frontenac, then Governor-General of Canada. By the aid of a strong north-east wind, she endeavored to pass up the channel between the bold bluff now crowned by the ruins of Fort Porter, and the rocky islet, since known by the name of Bird Island. Being unable to overcome the rapid current, a dozen men were landed on the sandy beach which bordered the eastern shore, and with tow

[1] This paper was originally read before the Buffalo Historical Society, Feb. 3d, 1863. Afterwards it was revised and enlarged, and, in its present form, was published among the collections of that Society.—*Ed.*

lines, drew her, by main force, up the stream. A group of swarthy Senecas watched her movements, shouting their admiration at the strange spectacle.

When the vessel had reached the lake, the men on shore embarked—the *Te Deum* was chanted by the grateful crew—their artillery and fire-arms were discharged—and the vessel, turning her prow toward the south-west, boldly ploughed, without chart or guide, the untried waters of the lake.[1]

That vessel was the *Griffon*, and her projector and builder the adventurous Cavalier de la Salle.

This distinguished explorer was born in Rouen, France, on the twenty-second day of November, 1643. Educated by the Jesuits, he became, for a short time, a member of their Order. He came to America in 1666, and soon after visited and descended the Ohio; and, as some claim, anticipated Jolliet and Marquette in the discovery of the Mississippi. His western explorations revealed the value and foreshadowed the growth of the fur trade, then dependent for transportation on the bark canoe, or the sluggish pirogue of the Indian. The discovery of an overland route to China, and the development of the copper mines of the Interior, were additional stimuli to draw him from the luxury and ease of Europe, to share in the hardships and privations of savage life among the lakes and rivers, forests and prairies of the north-west.

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[1] Hennepin, Louisiana, p. 29. Hennepin, Nouvelle Découverte, p. 119. Margry, Découverte, Vol. I., p. 445.

Fort Frontenac was chosen as the base of his operations; and he agreed to rebuild and maintain it at his own expense, provided the French government would grant him certain exclusive privileges. These were accorded in May, 1675.[1] He immediately took possession of the fort, the foundations of which had been laid by Count Frontenac two years before, and enlarged and strengthened its defences.

In 1678, a brigantine of ten tons had been built for the use of the French on Lake Ontario.[2] To facilitate his enterprises further west, it became necessary for La Salle to build a larger vessel above the Cataract of Niagara. He first dispatched a party of fifteen men by canoe to the Upper Lakes, with goods of the value of six or seven thousand francs. They had orders to establish friendly relations with the Indians; to collect provisions for the use of the contemplated expedition, and to gather furs for the return voyage.[3] He also sent carpenters and other artisans, under charge of the Sieur de la Motte, to build a fort at Niagara, and the vessel above the Falls.[4]

The chief companions he selected to aid him in these undertakings were the Chevalier Henry de Tonty, the Sieur la Motte de Lussière, and Father Louis Hennepin.

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[1] Margry, Dècouv., Vol. I., pp. 333, 437.

[2] Hennepin, N. D., p. 72.

[3] Hennepin, La., p. 19; Le Clerq, Etab. de la Foi, Vol. II., p. 141.

[4] Margry, Dècouv., Vol. I., pp. 440, 57[illegible].

Tonty was a Neapolitan by birth. Having fled from the revolution of Naples, he entered the French Marine in 1668, in which he served four years. Having lost his right hand at Vintimille by the bursting of a grenade, he supplied the deficiency by a metallic arrangement covered with a glove.[1] This he used with marked effect in his encounters with the Indians, and thus obtained the sobriquet of the "Iron Hand." He joined La Salle in his last voyage from France, in July, 1678,[2] and faithfully adhered to the fortunes of his chief, until the death of the latter in 1687. He was distinguished for zeal, courage and capacity. He commanded the reinforcements which were brought from the west to aid De Nonville in his expedition against the Senecas in 1687. He died at Fort St. Louis, on Mobile bay, towards the close of the year 1704. His father was the author of the financial scheme, called after him "Tontine," which was adopted in France, and subsequently introduced into America.[3]

La Motte de Lussière was a captain in the celebrated regiment of *Carignan-salières*, and accompanied La Salle on his first visit to America.[4] He proved in the sequel, unfaithful to his commander by adhering to his enemies.[5]

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[1] La Potherie, Vol. II, p. 144.

[2] Margry, Découv, Vol. I., p. 449.

[3] Margry, Mémoires Inédits, p. 3.

[4] Hennepin, La., p. 15.

[5] Margry, Découv., Vol. II., p. 230.

After some experience he found himself unfitted to endure the hardships of the New World, and gladly returned to civilized life.[1]

Louis Hennepin was a Flemish Recollect of the Franciscan order, and came to America in 1675 with Bishop Laval. He established a mission at Fort Frontenac, where he remained two and a-half years. He then returned to Quebec, and after undergoing the necessary religious preparation, reascended the St. Lawrence to Fort Frontenac, and joined the expedition of La Salle. He was proud of his association with his distinguished chief, and devoted as much time to his service as he could well spare from the duties of his priestly office. He was ambitious and unscrupulous, and after the death of La Salle, endeavored to appropriate some of the honors which the latter had acquired by his celebrated discoveries in the West. He published two works, one of which is styled "Description de la Louisiane," printed in 1683, and the other "A New Discovery of a Very Vast Country, Situated in America, Between New Mexico and the Frozen Ocean," printed in 1698. The first is less in detail, but more reliable than the second. Its account of the building and voyage of the *Griffon*, is, for the most part, a bold plagiarism from the official record of that enterprise, which had been communicated, either by La Salle himself, or through his instrumentality, to the French Minister of the Marine, in 1682. Nearly all of Hennepin's account is a

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[1] Margry, Découv., Vol. II., p. 9; Hennepin, N. D., p. 76.

verbatim copy of that record; with here and there a slight variation, occasionally relieved by an original paragraph. Twenty-one out of thirty-two pages of his "Louisiane," relating to the *Griffon*, are copied almost literally from the official document above referred to, now deposited among the *Clairambault* Collections, in the National Library of Paris.[1] His narrative requires close scrutiny, especially in those particulars in which he was neither actor nor eye-witness. He belonged to that class of writers, which is said to speak the truth by accident and to lie by inclination. La Salle calls him a great exaggerator, who wrote more in conformity with his wishes than his knowledge.[2]

The expedition sent forward from Fort Frontenac, was under the immediate charge of the Sieur de la Motte; who was accompanied by Hennepin and sixteen men. They embarked on the eighteenth of November, 1678, in the brigantine before mentioned.[3]

The autumnal gales were then sweeping over the lake, and the cautious navigators, fearing to be driven on the south shore, avoided the usual course, and coasted timidly under shelter of the Canadian headlands. Having advanced as far west as the site of Toronto, they sought refuge from a storm in the mouth of the river Humber.

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[1] Compare Hennepin, La., pp. 41–73, with Margry, Dècouv., Vol. I., pp. 441–451.

[2] Margry, Dècouv., Vol. II., p. 259.

[3] Hennepin, La, p. 20. Ib. p. 21.

Grounding three times at the entrance, they were forced to throw their ballast overboard and to land fourteen of their crew, before the vessel could be made to float. The inhabitants of an Iroquois village near by, called *Tai-ai-a-gon*, were greatly surprised at their strange visitors, and generously supplied them with provisions in their extremity. The vessel narrowly escaped being frozen in for the winter, and was only released by being cut out with axes.[1]

On the fifth of December the wind becoming favorable, they left for the south side of the lake, riding out a boisterous night about twelve miles from the mouth of the Niagara. On the sixth of December, St. Nicholas' day, they entered what Hennepin calls "the beautiful river Niagara, into which no bark similar to ours had ever sailed."[2] Religion and commerce had joined in the enterprise. The noble Ambrosian hymn "*Te Deum Laudamus*," arose from the deck of the gallant bark, chanted by the crew in recognition of their escape from the perils of a wintry navigation, and of their safe arrival in so desirable and commodious a harbor. Near by their anchorage were a few cabins, temporarily occupied by the Senecas for shelter during their fishing season. Our voyagers were abundantly supplied by the natives with white-fish, three hundred of which they caught in a

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[1] Le Clerq, Etab. de la Foi, Vol. II, p. 141.

[2] Hennepin, N. D, pp. 74, 75.

single cast of the net. Such unusual luck was ascribed to the auspicious arrival of "the great wooden canoe."[1]

A party was now organized for exploring the river above the Falls, in search of a suitable site for building the projected ship. On the seventh of December, Hennepin, with five companions, ascended two leagues in a bark canoe, as far as the Mountain Ridge. Here their progress was arrested by the rapids which rush with impetuous force from the gorge above; and they landed on the Canadian shore. Prosecuting their search on foot, they ascended what are now known as Queenston Heights, and followed the river for three leagues, until they reached the mouth of the Chippewa Creek. This stream is described by Hennepin as emptying into the Niagara from the west, a league above the great Fall. Being unable to find any land suitable for their purpose, they encamped for the night, first clearing away a foot of snow, before their fire could be kindled.

On their return the next day, herds of deer and flocks of wild turkeys met them on the way, giving promise of abundant game for the subsistence of the party during their contemplated sojourn on the Niagara.[2]

On the eleventh of December, they celebrated the first mass ever said in the vicinity.

The next three days were passed at Niagara, the wind being too unfavorable for the bark to ascend the river.

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[1] Hennepin, La., p. 23.

[2] Hennepin, N. D., p. 76.

On the fifteenth, Hennepin took the helm, and with the aid of three men towing on shore, reached the foot of the rapids, and moored the bark to the American shore, below the precipitous cliffs of the Mountain Ridge. They employed the seventeenth and the two following days in constructing a cabin on the site of Lewiston, to serve as a storehouse for the use of the expedition. They were obliged to thaw the frozen ground with boiling water before the palisades could be driven.

On the twentieth, and the next three days, the ice came down the rapids with such force, and in such quantities, as to threaten the safety of their bark. To guard against the danger, the carpenters, under the direction of La Motte, made a capstan, with which they endeavored to draw the vessel into a ravine; but the strain on the cable broke it three times. They finally passed it around the hull, and succeeded, with ropes attached, in hauling her to a place of safety.[1]

A further advance by vessel or canoe having been checked by the rapids, a portage around the Falls must now be made. Hennepin's reconnoissance, as before seen, had proved the one on the Canadian side to be unsuitable. It now remained to explore the other. Before doing so, it became necessary to consult La Salle, who had not yet arrived from Fort Frontenac, and also to conciliate the neighboring Senecas. The preparations made by La Salle to build a fort at the mouth of the Niagara, and a

[1] Hennepin, N. D., pp. 77, 78. Margry, Découv., Vol. II., p. 8.

vessel above the Falls, on the territory claimed by the Senecas, had aroused the jealousy of that proud people. Attempts had been made, with some success, to propitiate those residing in the small village on the western bank of the river near its mouth.[1] It was deemed expedient, however, to send an embassy to their capital beyond the Genesee, before proceeding with the enterprise; and to negotiate, with the usual presents, for the required permission.

Hennepin, never idle, was busy in the construction of a bark chapel for Divine service, when La Motte invited him to join in the proposed embassy. As the friar had ingratiated himself with the Iroquois, and possessed some knowledge of their language, his co-operation was deemed important. At first he feigned reluctance to go, but finally consented.[2] Leaving a portion of their party at the foot of the Mountain Ridge, La Motte and Hennepin, with four French companions, left on Christmas day, 1678.

Thus, in mid-winter, with blankets, warm clothing and moccasins for protection, they boldly plunged into the depths of the cheerless forest. The distance to the Seneca village was estimated at thirty-two leagues, or about eighty miles. Five hundred pounds of merchandise for Indian presents, and some sacks of parched corn, were distributed among the party. Their provisions were increased on the way by an occasional deer, and a few black

[1] Hennepin, N. D., p. 78.

[2] Hennepin, N. D., p. 79. Margry, Découv., Vol. I., p. 443.

squirrels procured by the Indians. For five weary days they followed the Indian trail through the frost-bound wilderness; sleeping at night in the open air, without shelter, except what chance afforded.

On the last day of December, they reached Tagarondies, the great village of the Senecas, situated on what has since been known as Boughton Hill, near Victor, in Ontario county.[1]

They were received by the Senecas with marked consideration, and conducted to the cabin of their principal chief, where they became objects of curiosity to the women and children. The young men bathed their travel-worn feet, and anointed them with bear's oil. The next day, being the first of the year, Hennepin celebrated mass, and preached the mysteries of his faith to the mixed assembly of French and Indians.

Fathers Julien Garnier and Peter Raffeix, two Jesuit missionaries, were found residing in the village at the time of their visit. The former was the first Jesuit ordained in Canada, and the last missionary of that order among the Senecas.[2] He commenced his labors among the Oneidas in 1668, at the age of twenty-five, and in the same year visited the Onondagas and Cayugas. In 1669 he had charge of the Seneca mission of St. Michael, and the following year that of St. James. In 1671 he con-

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[1] N. Y. Hist. Collections, second series, Vol. II., p. 160.

[2] Shea's Catholic Missions, p. 294, n.

ducted the three missions among that people.[1] He died at Quebec in February, 1730, having devoted upwards of sixty years to his missionary work. He was acquainted with the Algonquin language, but better versed in Huron and Iroquois.[2] His companion, Raffeix, joined him in the Seneca country in 1672. He was chaplain in the expedition of Courcelles against the Mohawks, in 1666.[3] He was soon after chosen for missionary work among the Cayugas, and labored among them and the Senecas until 1680. The writer can find no later notice of him than 1703, at which time he was living at Quebec.[4]

After Hennepin had concluded his religious services, the grand council was convened. It was composed of forty-two of the elders among the Senecas. Their tall forms were completely enveloped in robes made from the skins of the beaver, wolf and black squirrel. With calumet in mouth, these grave councillors took their seats on their mats, with all the stateliness and dignity of Venetian senators.

At the opening of the council, La Motte, suspecting Father Garnier of hostility to La Salle, objected to his presence. At the request of the Senecas he withdrew. Hennepin, considering this as an affront to his cloth, re-

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[1] Jesuit Relation, Quebec, ed. 1668, p. 17; 1669, p. 12; 1670, pp. 69–78; 1671, p. 20; 1666, p. 9

[2] Jesuit Rel., ed. 1666, p. 6; Parkman's Jesuits, p. 54.

[3] Ib., ed. 1666, p. 9.

[4] Shea's Catholic Missions, p. 294, n.

tired with him. La Salle was ever suspicious of the Jesuits; believing them to be opposed to his enterprises, and inclined to influence the Indians against him.

The council was informed, through Brassart, the interpreter, that the French had come to visit them on the part of Onontio, their governor, and to smoke the calumet on their mats; that the Sieur de la Salle was about to build a great wooden canoe above the Falls, in which to bring merchandise from Europe by a more convenient route than the rapids of the Saint Lawrence; that by this means the French would be able to undersell the English of Boston, and the Dutch of New York.[1]

This speech was accompanied with four hundred pounds weight of presents, consisting of hatchets, knives, coats, and a large necklace of blue and white shells Portions of these were handed over at the end of each proposition. This mode of treating with the Indians by bribing their chiefs, has, unfortunately, continued to the present day.

Among other inducements, La Motte promised to furnish, for the convenience of their whole nation, a gunsmith and blacksmith, to reside at the mouth of the Niagara, for the purpose of mending their guns and hatchets. Several coats and pieces of fine cloth, iron, and European merchandise of great rarity among the Indians, and of the value of four hundred francs, were added, as weighty reasons, to influence them in favor of the French. "The

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[1] Alluding to the plan of La Salle to send merchandise to the Niagara by the way of the Mississippi and the lakes.

best arguments in the world," says Hennepin, "are not listened to by the natives, unless accompanied with presents."[1]

On the next day, the Senecas answered the speech of La Motte, sentence by sentence, and responded by presents. As aids to the memory, they used small wooden sticks which the speaker took up, one by one, as he replied, *seratim*, to the several points in the speech of the day previous. Belts of wampum, made of small shells strung on fine sinews, were presented after each speech, followed by the exclamation "*Ni-a-oua*," signifying approval, from the whole assembly. This, however, proved an insincere response in the present instance; for La Motte, with his specious reasoning made no impression on these shrewd children of the forest. They knew that the English and Dutch had greater facilities than the French for supplying them with merchandise, and could outbid the latter in trading for their furs. They received the offered presents with apparent acquiescence, and after the customary salutations, the council broke up. Before it ended, two prisoners of war, who had been taken near the borders of Virginia, were brought in; one of whom, out of compliment to their guests, was put to death with tortures, such as Indians only in their savage state can invent and inflict. The French, unable to bear the sight, and willing to testify their abhorrence of the cruelty, withdrew from the scene. So the embassy left for their quarters on the banks of the Niagara; which they

[1] Hennepin, N. D., p. 85.

reached on the fourteenth of January, 1679, thoroughly exhausted with their toilsome expedition. They were in some measure solaced on their arrival, with the abundance of white-fish, just then in season. The water in which they were boiled, thickened into jelly, reminded them of the savory soups to which they had been accustomed in their father-land.[1]

The side of the Niagara on which the vessel for use on the Upper Lakes could be most conveniently built, was as yet undetermined. The Canadian side had been examined, as already noticed, and found unsatisfactory.[2] Historians have widely differed, not only as to the one finally selected, but also as to the precise point where the keel of the historic bark was laid. The solution of these questions involves interesting topographical investigations.

Governor Cass, in his address before the Historical Society of Michigan, maintains that "the *Griffon* was launched at Erie."[3] Schoolcraft says, "near Buffalo."[4] Bancroft, in the first edition of his History of the United States, says, "at the mouth of the Tonewanda creek."[5] Dr. Sparks, in his "Life of La Salle," says, "at Chippewa creek, on the Canadian side of the river;"[6] and his

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[1] Hennepin, N. D., pp., 78-91.

[2] Hennepin, N. D., p. 75.

[3] Historical Discourse at Detroit, p. 14.

[4] Tour to the Lakes, p. 33.

[5] History of the United States, Vol. III., p. 162.

[6] Life of La Salle, p. 21.

opinion was followed by Parkman in his "Life of Pontiac,"[1] and more recently by Doctor Abbott, in his "Adventures of La Salle."[2] What is still more remarkable and inexcusable, the new History of the United States, bearing the endorsement of the late William Cullen Bryant, states that the *Griffon* was built at Fort Frontenac, which it locates on Lake Erie! Such is history.

In an article published August 22d, 1845, in the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser*, the writer claimed that the vessel was built at the mouth of the Cayuga creek.

Since that publication, Mr Bancroft, in later editions of his History,[3] and Mr. Parkman, in his more recent works,[4] have accepted Cayuga creek as the true site of the dock.

As some doubts, however, still exist, and erroneous locations continue to be repeated, the subject has been re-examined in the light of the evidence afforded by the valuable documents lately published by Mr. Margry, under the auspices of the American Congress, and with the aid of other historical material recently discovered.

The portage around the Falls, and the site of the dock, must, necessarily, have been on the same side of the river. The American portage would naturally be chosen as the

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[1] Parkman's Life of Pontiac, first ed., p. 52.

[2] Abbott's Adventures of La Salle, p. 98.

[3] Vol. III., p. 162, sixteenth ed.

[4] Discovery of the Great West, p. 133. Life of Pontiac, sixth ed., Vol. I., p. 58.

shortest and most feasible route; its length being two and a-half miles less than the Canadian, owing to the configuration of the river.

That the French actually used the American side during and subsequent to the building of the *Griffon*, clearly appears from the testimony of Hennepin and La Hontan.

In his notice of the point where the river issues from the mountain gorge between Lewiston and Queenston, Hennepin mentions a "great rock" which rose to a considerable height above the water, "three fathoms from the Canadian shore." Also "three mountains" on the American side, "opposite the great rock."[1] In describing his return from his western discoveries, after the loss of the *Griffon*, Hennepin says, "we carried our canoe from the great Fall of Niagara to the foot of the three mountains, which are two leagues below, and opposite the great rock."[2] This locates the portage used by Hennepin, on the American side.

The Baron La Hontan, who visited the Falls in 1688, only nine years after the *Griffon* was built, says, in his "Voyages to North America," published in 1703, "I went up the Niagara three leagues from its mouth, to the end of navigation. We were obliged to carry our canoe from a league and a-half below the Falls, to a-half a league above them. We ascended the three mountains

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[1] Hennepin, N. D., pp. 45, 77, 113, 452.

[2] Hennepin, N. D., p. 456.

before finding the way smooth and level."[1] On the map which accompanies his travels, La Hontan places the "three mountains" unmistakably on the American side of the river, just south of the site of Lewiston.

From the preceding quotations, it is evident that the "great rock," is referred to as on the west or Canadian side, and the "three mountains" on the opposite or American side of the Niagara.

This "great rock" was long a conspicuous object near the shore; and can still be seen under the western end of the old Suspension bridge, the ruins of which now span the river at that point. Within the memory of the early settlers, boats could readily pass between the rock and the adjacent bank. The debris from the precipice above, thrown down in the construction of the bridge, has nearly filled the intervening space. Hennepin describes the rock as very high;[2] but time, and the action of the ever-flowing current, have reduced its dimensions, and settled it in its river bed. It still lifts its dark head above the surrounding waters, an abiding witness of the accuracy of this part of the Franciscan's narrative, and perpetuates his memory under the name of "Hennepin's Rock."

The "three mountains" on the American side can easily be recognized in the lofty ridge, composed of three terraces, caused by the geological formation of the bank, which rises four hundred feet above the surface of the

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[1] La Hontan's Voyages, Eng. ed., Vol. I., p. 81.

[2] Hennepin, N. D., p. 452.

river. The ravine into which the brigantine was drawn by La Motte, to protect it from the ice, as before stated, is plainly to be seen near the foot of the Mountain Ridge, on the American side of the river, a short distance above Lewiston. This ravine, in the absence of any on the Canadian side, proves the site of the palisaded storehouse, and the commencement of the portage, to have been on the eastern side.

The proofs establishing the particular *site* where the vessel was built, will now be considered. Hennepin describes the portage as passing over beautiful meadows, and through groves of scattered oaks and pine. "We went," says he, "two leagues above the great Fall of Niagara, and there built some stocks for the construction of the vessel needed for our voyage. We could not have chosen a more convenient place. It was near a river which empties into the strait between Lake Erie and the great Fall."[1]

Two leagues above the Falls would be about five miles. At that distance we find the Cayuga creek, a stream which answers perfectly to Hennepin's description. Opposite its mouth, an island of the same name lies parallel with the shore, about a mile long, and two or three hundred yards wide. It is separated from the mainland by a narrow branch of the river, called by the early inhabitants, "Little Niagara;" wide and deep enough to float a vessel of the tonnage of the *Griffon*. Into this

[1] Hennepin, N. D., p. 94.

channel and opposite the middle of the island, the Cayuga creek empties. On the main shore, just above the mouth of the creek, and under shelter of the island, is a favorable site for a ship-yard. So eligible is the position, that it was selected by the United States government, in the early part of the present century, as a suitable point for building one or more vessels for the transportation of troops and supplies to the western posts. For that reason it was known in early times, as the "old ship-yard;" and local traditions have been preserved in the memory of the early pioneers, of its anterior occupancy, for the same purpose, by the French.[1]

Investigation among the archives of the *Ministère de la Marine* in Paris, have brought to light the existence of three manuscript maps, nearly cotemporaneous with the construction of the *Griffon*. The first two were made by *Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin*, Hydrographer to Louis XIV., and the predecessor of Louis Jolliet in that office.

The earliest of the three is a map of North America, purporting to have been "drawn in 1688, by order of the Governor and Intendant of New France, from sixteen years observations of the author." It is five feet long, and three feet wide. Lakes Ontario and Erie, with the adjacent country, are, for that early day, remarkably well delineated. The Niagara river and Falls are distinctly represented, with a portage road around the latter, on the American side. A fac-simile of that portion of the map

[1] Marshall's Niagara Frontier, p. 30.

which embraces the Niagara river, reproduced from a careful tracing over the original, is given on the following page.

Its most interesting feature is the design of a cabin, on the eastern side of the river, midway between the two lakes, with this inscription: "*Cabane ou le Sr de la Salle a fait faire une barque.*" (Cabin where the Sieur de la Salle caused a bark to be built.)

The next map drawn by the same author in 1689, is substantially like that of 1688. The Niagara river is laid down as on the former chart, with a cabin indicating

the site where the *Griffon* was built; but the inscription differs slightly, it being, "*Chantier ou le Sr de la Salle a f^t f^re une barque.* (Stocks where the Sieur de la Salle caused a bark to be built.)

The third map, drawn after Franquelin in 1699, has, unfortunately, been so closely trimmed for binding in atlas form, as partly to cut off the Niagara river; but the inscription, indicating, as on the other maps, that the vessel was constructed on the eastern side of the river, was left untouched, and is as follows: "*Chantier de Sr de la Salle pour sa barq.*" (Stocks for the bark of the Sieur de la Salle.)

This dock was referred to by the Marquis Denonville in a *procès-verbal*, or act of taking possession of the territory of the Senecas in 1687; only eight years after the *Griffon* was built. He says: "La Salle built a bark two leagues above the great Fall of Niagara, which navigated Lakes Erie, Huron and Illinois (Michigan), *the stocks of which are still to be seen.*"[1] It will be noticed that Hennepin and Denonville agree in the distance of the dock above the Falls.

The proofs now exhibited remove all doubts as to the site where the *Griffon* was built. The mouth of the Cayuga creek is, unquestionably, the true locality. In commemoration of the event, the name, "La Salle," has appropriately been conferred on the neighboring village.

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., Vol. IX., p. 335.

La Salle, who had remained at Fort Frontenac, for the purpose of procuring supplies and materials for the proposed vessel, embarked with his lieutenant, Tonty, on a brigantine of twenty tons, and sailed for Niagara, by the south shore of the lake.[1] When near the mouth of the Genesee river, he landed by canoe, and went to Tagarondies, which he had visited with the Sulpitians, Dollier and Gallinée, ten years before.[2] At a council, supplementary to the one just held by La Motte and Hennepin, he succeeded, by his personal address, in gaining what they had failed to obtain—the full assent of the Senecas to the execution of his enterprises.[3]

Re-embarking in his vessel, he sailed westward toward Niagara. When about twenty-five miles east of that river—the wind having failed—he left the vessel, and accompanied by Tonty, pursued his way to Niagara by land. He left instructions with the pilot, that if the wind should blow from the north-west, he should steer for Niagara; and if from the south-west, he should seek shelter in the river of the Senecas.[4]

On the eighth of January, 1679, the pilot and crew, while waiting for a favorable breeze, left the vessel at anchor, to sleep on shore. The wind rose so suddenly, that they were unable to embark. The vessel dragged

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[1] Margry, Dècouv., Vol. I., p. 575.

[2] Margry, Dècouv., Vol. I., p. 127.

[3] Hennepin, N. D., p. 111.

[4] Genesee river.

her anchor, struck on a rock, and became a total wreck.[1] This must have been at or near what is now known as Thirty-mile Point, being that distance east of Fort Niagara. By this misfortune, a large amount of material, designed for the construction of the *Griffon*, including several bark canoes, was lost. Nothing was saved but the anchors and cables. To replace the loss, much valuable time would now be required, in transporting provisions and supplies for the use of the men employed in the work.[2]

La Salle and Tonty reached the mouth of the Niagara on the evening after they had left the vessel. The Indians residing on the western side of the river, answering their summons, ferried them over to the village in their wooden canoes, and hospitably received them into their cabins.[3] Nothing could be had for their refreshment, but the usual Indian diet of white-fish and corn soup. This seemed, to Tonty's palate, barbarous and unsavory. Nevertheless, hunger compelled him to partake of it, without the relish of bread, wine, pepper or salt. Such was the rough life of the French explorer; subsisting on game, fish, and Indian corn, and inadequately protected from the weather by rudely constructed cabins of bark.

At midnight, the restless La Salle set out by moonlight with Tonty, expecting to join La Motte in his cabin at the foot of the Mountain Ridge. They found he was still

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[1] Margry, Découv., Vol. I., pp. 442, 576.

[2] Margry, Découv., Vol. II., p. 229. Hennepin, La., p. 41.

[3] Margry, Découv., Vol. I., p 576.

absent with Hennepin, on their embassy to the Senecas. Leaving Tonty to await his return, La Salle proceeded the next day further up the river, in search of a site above the Falls, convenient for building the projected vessel. Having found one, he transferred to the location some of his men, for the purpose of constructing a dock, and beginning the work. Returning to Niagara, he waited impatiently for the arrival of La Motte and Hennepin. News reached him while there of the loss of his vessel on Lake Ontario; and he repaired at once to the wreck, in order to rescue what might be useful in the construction of the new bark.

On the twenty-second of January, La Salle, Hennepin and Tonty repaired to the site which the former had chosen for the dock.[1] On his way there, La Salle turned aside to view the great Cataract; the first engraved view and detailed description of which are given by his companion, Hennepin, in his "New Discovery." La Salle had passed within fifteen miles of it ten years before, as he was coasting by canoe along the southerly shore of Lake Ontario, but this was his first visit.[2]

Tonty was now given the command of the working party. A place was cleared for the stocks. The woods resounded with the strokes of the axe, that pioneer of western civilization. Oaks were felled, and converted into plank; and their branches fashioned into ribs and knees, to conform the ship to a shapely model.

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[1] Margry, Découv., Vol. I., pp. 576, 577. Hennepin, N. D., p. 96.

[2] Margry, Découv., Vol. I, p. 139.

On the twenty-sixth, the keel was laid ; and everything being ready, La Salle sent the carpenter to invite Hennepin to strike the first blow for the commerce of the lakes. The modesty of the good father for once overcame his ambition, and he declined the proffered honor. La Salle then promised ten Louis d'or, to encourage the carpenter to hasten the work.[1]

It now became necessary for La Salle to return to Fort Frontenac, to obtain supplies for his proposed ship, and to appease the clamors of his importunate creditors. It was about the first of February, and the snow still lay deep in the leafless woods. His bark had been wrecked, and the lake was too treacherous for a wintry voyage by canoe or brigantine. Nothing, however, could repress his untiring energy. Setting out on snow-shoes, with only two men for his companions, and a dog to draw his baggage, he traversed the frozen route of over eighty leagues, to Fort Frontenac. He took no provisions but a bag of parched corn, and even that failed him before he reached his destination.[2] Hennepin and Tonty accompanied him as far as Niagara. While there, La Salle traced a fort, which, after the prince of that name, he called Fort Conty. In order to deceive the Senecas, he pretended it was for a building he had promised them for a blacksmith.

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[1] Hennepin, N. D., p. 95.

[2] Margry, Découv., Vol. I., pp. 442, 577. Hennepin, N. D., p. 97.

La Motte lost no time in commencing a house on the site, and fortifying it with palisades, for the protection of the party and the storage of their supplies.[1] Thus were laid the foundations of that renowned fortress, over which, after passing successively under French and English control, now floats the standard of the American Republic.

After La Salle's departure, Tonty and Hennepin returned to their duties at the ship-yard.[2] Two bark cabins, including a chapel for the special use of Hennepin, were built with the aid of the Indians. Divine worship was regularly observed; and on Sundays and fete days, the sombre woods were vocal with the Gregorian chants, sung by the devout Franciscans.

Fortunately they were not interrupted by the Senecas; most of their warriors being absent on an expedition beyond Lake Erie. The few that remained were less insolent through their weakness. However, they often visited the camp, and exhibited dissatisfaction at the progress of the work. One of them, feigning intoxication, attempted to kill La Forge, the blacksmith, who vigorously repulsed him with a hissing bar of red-hot iron. This, added to a reprimand from Hennepin, caused him to desist. The timely warning of a squaw, holding friendly relations with one of the workmen, prevented the destruction of the vessel; the Senecas having planned to burn it on the stocks. Only the strictest vigilance saved it from the

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[1] Hennepin, La, p. 30.

[2] Margry, Découv., Vol. I., p. 577.

torch.[1] So great was Tonty's fear that an attack would be made upon the camp, that he sent La Motte on a second visit to the Seneca village, to avert the design. He was not only successful in his mission, but secured, at the same time, much needed supplies of corn for Fort Frontenac, and for the party at work on the *Griffon*.[2]

While La Motte was absent on his mission, Tonty repaired to Niagara, and launched the brigantine, in order to save what he could from the unfortunate wreck. But a storm arose, and the wind and ice forced him to come to anchor. The cable parted, and, after encountering great peril and fatigue, he succeeded in reaching the mouth of the Niagara, without accomplishing his object. After the storm had subsided, he embarked, by canoe, to regain his lost anchor; and met La Motte on his return from the Senecas. Leaving the latter to fish up the anchor, Tonty returned to the dock.[3]

The frequent alarms which they experienced, the fear that provisions would fail them by reason of the loss of the bark, and the refusal of the Senecas to sell them supplies, greatly discouraged the carpenters.[4] They were otherwise demoralized by the attempted desertion of one of their number to the Dutch in New York. Hennepin assumes the credit of allaying these fears, and of stimu-

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[1] Margry, Vol. I., p. 443. Hennepin, N. D., p. 97.

[2] Margry, Vol. I., p. 578. Ib., Vol. II., p. 8.

[3] Margry, Découv., Vol. I., p. 577.

[4] Margry, Découv., Vol. I., p. 444.

lating the men to greater diligence, by his timely exhortations on Sundays and festivals, and assurances that their work would redound to the glory of God, and the welfare of the Christian colonies.[1] He made frequent trips to Niagara, carrying his portable chapel strapped to his shoulders; equally ready to discharge the functions of his holy calling, or to aid in the temporal work which La Salle had undertaken. The Senecas called him *Hochitagon*, signifying *bare-feet*, in allusion to the custom of his Order in wearing sandals.[2]

Two Indians, employed as hunters, supplied the party with venison and other game.[3] The work went on, and the winter wore away, without remarkable incident. Spring succeeded, and in the month of May the vessel was nearly ready for launching. Its formidable hull, looming up on the stocks, continued to excite the jealousy of the Senecas, and they again threatened to burn it. Fearing this, it was deemed advisable to launch it at once.[4] This was done with due formalities. A blessing was invoked according to the usage of the Roman church—a salute was fired—the *Te Deum* was chanted, and the vessel safely floated in the Cayuga channel of the Niagara. She was named "LE GRIFFON," in compliment to Count Frontenac, on whose escutcheon two winged griffins were em-

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[1] Hennepin, N. D., p. 98.

[2] Hennepin, N. D., p. 27.

[3] Hennepin, N. D., pp. 95, 98.

[4] Margry, Déconv., Vol. I., p. 444.

blazoned as supporters. The Frenchmen cheered as the vessel entered the stream, and swung securely at her anchor. A party of stoical Iroquois, who were returning from the chase, could not repress their astonishment at the unusual spectacle. The skill of the Frenchmen, able to build such a moving fort, in so short a time, excited their admiration, and they called them *Ot-kon*, signifying, according to Hennepin, *penetrating minds*.[1] The Senecas willingly joined in celebrating the launch, freely partaking of the brandy which was liberally distributed on the joyful occasion.

The overworked Frenchmen, released from their toil, and relieved from their painful vigils, gladly exchanged their cheerless quarters on land, for the deck of the *Griffon*, where they swung their hammocks; secure, for the first time, from the jealous owners of the soil.[2]

While these events were transpiring under the supervision of Touty, La Salle, whose duties detained him at Fort Frontenac, was harrassed by his creditors, clamorous for the payment of their dues. All his effects at Montreal and Quebec were attached, even to the bed of his secretary; notwithstanding his interest in Fort Frontenac, alone, was ample security for all his debts, without rely-

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[1] Margry, Découv., Vol. I., p. 444 Ot-kon is a Mohawk word, taken by Hennepin from Bruyns' Dictionary of that language. The corresponding word in Seneca is *Ot-goh*, and signifies supernatural beings or spirits. Bruyas' Mohawk Dictionary, p. 120.

[2] Hennepin, N. D., p. 100. Margry, Découv., Vol. I., p. 444.

ing upon returns from his western venture. These hostile proceedings originated, in part, from jealousy of the man. They did not, however, modify his purpose, but stimulated him to prosecute his enterprise, regardless of the machinations of his enemies.[1]

The *Griffon* being safely moored in the river, and the time approaching for the commencement of her western voyage, Hennepin, in order to ascertain the feasibility of taking her up the Niagara into Lake Erie, was dispatched on a reconnoissance. Accompanied by a single Indian in a bark canoe, he twice poled up the rapids, as far as the lake; sounding their depth, and estimating their force. He reported that no difficulty existed in the undertaking, if the *Griffon* should be favored with a fresh north or north-west breeze.[2]

Soon after the vessel was completed, she sailed up the eastern side of Grand Island, overcoming the current with her sails alone. She dropped anchor below Squaw Island, in ten feet of water, two and a-half miles from the lake, where she could ride secure in any weather.[3]

Hennepin now repaired to Fort Frontenac for the purpose of obtaining, from his brethren there, some companions to aid him in his proposed mission to the great West. Leaving the *Griffon* at her anchorage, he descended the river by canoe, with two assistants, as far as the

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[1] Margry, Dècouv., Vol. I., p 444. Hennepin, N. D., pp. 101, 102.

[2] Hennepin, N. D., p. 102.

[3] Hennepin, N. D., p. 103.

landing just above the Falls. From thence they carried their canoe over the portage; and launching it again at the foot of the Mountain Ridge, proceeded to Lake Ontario. Here they found the brigantine which the Sieur de la Forest had brought from Fort Frontenac. After spending a few days at the mouth of the river in trading with the Indians, they sailed for the Fort. The sea-sickness of a party of squaws, who embarked with them to save a journey of forty leagues, by land, to their village, rendered the voyage quite disagreeable, particularly to Father Hennepin, who emphatically expresses himself quite disgusted with his fellow voyagers.[1]

After touching at the mouth of the Oswego river, where they traded with the Iroquois, exchanging brandy for furs (a proceeding strongly condemned by Hennepin), they crossed the lake and landed on Gull Island, called by Hennepin "*Goilans*," one of the group which lies off Point Traverse in the eastern end of Lake Ontario. This island was so named from the gulls that frequented it in great abundance. They deposited their eggs in the sand, and left them to be hatched by the sun. Hennepin states that he "gathered and carried away a large quantity, which relished well in omelette."[2]

On arriving at Fort Frontenac, Hennepin was welcomed by his Franciscan brethren. Two of the Order, Gabriel

[1] Hennepin, N. D., pp. 104, 105.

[2] Hennepin, N. D., p. 106.

de la Ribourde and Zenobe Membre, were chosen to accompany him in the memorable voyage of the *Griffon*.[1]

On the twenty-seventh of May, while the party were at Fort Frontenac, La Salle, in recognition of the services of the Franciscans, conveyed to the Order eighteen acres of land bordering on the lake near the Fort, and about one hundred in the adjacent forest. He also decreed, by virtue of his authority as governor and proprietor of the Fort, that no other Order should be established in its vicinity.

After visiting the neighboring Indians, the Franciscans embarked in the brigantine for Niagara.[2] They landed first at the mouth of the Genesee river, where they traded with the Senecas; purchasing furs and supplies, with guns, knives, powder, lead and brandy; the latter being the most in demand. Hennepin secluded himself from these distractions, by retiring some distance in the woods; where he built a bark chapel for religious observances. While they were thus delayed, La Salle arrived at the end of eight days. on his way to the Seneca village. On reaching the latter, he made some presents to attach the Indians to his interest, and to counteract the prejudices which his enemies had secretly excited against him. These negotiations detained them so long, as to prevent their reaching Niagara before the thirtieth of June.

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[1] Hennepin, N. D., p. 107.

[2] Hennepin, N. D, pp. 108, 109, 110.

On the fourth of July,[1] Hennepin and Sergeant la Fleur set out on foot to rejoin the *Griffon*. They visited the great Cataract on their way, and stopped at the stocks where the vessel had been built, and which Hennepin locates at six leagues from Lake Ontario. While resting there, two young Indians seriously incommoded the fathers, by slyly appropriating all their provisions. Here they found an old bark canoe, much dilapidated, which they repaired as well as their conveniences allowed. In this, with extemporized paddles, they risked the voyage up the Niagara, and were cordially welcomed on board the *Griffon* still swinging at her anchors, in the current below the rapids.[2] A party of Iroquois returning with prisoners from a western foray, visited the ship on their way, and were struck with amazement that the material for her equipment, including such large anchors, could have been brought up the rapids of the St. Lawrence. "*Gannoron!*" they exclaimed, in their astonishment; an expression in their language for "Wonderful."[3] Leaving instructions with the pilot, not to attempt the ascent of the river, Hennepin returned to Niagara on the sixteenth,

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[1] Hennepin, N. D., p. 111. There is some confusion of dates in Hennepin's narrative, not reconcilable.

[2] Hennepin, N. D., p. 112.

[3] This is not a Seneca, but a Mohawk word. It was evidently borrowed by Hennepin from Father Bruyas' manuscript Dictionary of the Mohawk Language, which the former consulted in America. The corresponding word in the Seneca dialect is *Ga-nó-oh*, which signifies literally, *difficult* or *extraordinary*. Bruyas' Radical Words of the Mohawk Language, p. 83.

and brought up the brigantine in which they had come from Fort Frontenac, as far as the Great Rock; and anchored her at the foot of the Three Mountains.[1]

The munitions of war, provisions and rigging with which the brigantine was loaded, was now carried over the portage by the crew, aided by the Franciscans, involving many a weary and painful journey of two long leagues. Father Gabriel, sixty-four years old, went up and down the Three Mountains, three several times, with remarkable activity and endurance. It required four persons to carry the largest anchor; but a liberal distribution of brandy encouraged the men, and lightened their labor.[2]

The transportation of their effects being thus accomplished, all repaired to the outlet of Lake Erie, and waited for the sailing of the *Griffon*. Hennepin took advantage of the delay, to make another visit to the Falls, in company with La Salle and Father Gabriel.[3] He was so charmed with the fine scenery, the abundant fishery, and the beauty of the river, that he proposed to La Salle to found a settlement on its borders. By this means, he claimed, the Indian trade could be monopolized, and at the same time the interests of religion be promoted.[4]

But La Salle was in debt; depending for the liquidation of his liabilities on the furs he expected to realize from the far West. This consideration, coupled with an intense

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[1] Hennepin, N. D., p. 113.

[2] Hennepin, N. D., p. 114.

[3] Hennepin, N. D., p. 116.

[4] Hennepin, N. D., p. 105.

desire to explore the interior of the continent, prevented his listening to the entreaties of Hennepin.

Everything being ready for the voyage, several fruitless attempts were made by the *Griffon* to ascend the rapids into Lake Erie. The winds were either adverse, or too light. While thus waiting, a part of the crew cleared some land on the Canadian shore, and sowed several varieties of garden seeds. "This," says Hennepin, "was done for the benefit of those who should be engaged in maintaining, over the portage, the communication between the vessels navigating the two lakes."[1] They discovered some wild *chervil*, and quantities of Spanish garlic (*roscambole*), growing there spontaneously.[2]

The crew had been reduced, by leaving Father Melithon and others at the stocks above the Falls. A portion of the remainder encamped on shore, to lighten the vessel in its attempts to stem the rapid current. Divine service was daily observed on board, and the preaching on Sundays and festivals could easily be heard by the men on shore.[3]

On the twenty-second of July, Tonty was sent forward with five men, to join a company of fourteen, who had, some time before, been ordered by La Salle to rendezvous at the mouth of the Detroit river.[4]

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[1] Hennepin, N. D., p. 118.

[2] Judge Clinton says, that the chervil was probably the sweet cicely, and the roscambole either the leek or garlic.

[3] Hennepin, N. D., p. 119.

[4] Margry, Découv., Vol. I., p. 578.

At length the wished-for wind from the north-east arose; and the party, to the number of thirty-two souls, including the two Recollects who had recently joined them from Fort Frontenac, embarked; and, contrary to the predictions of the pilot, succeeded in ascending the rapids into the lake,[1] as heretofore described.

It was a moment of rejoicing and profound gratitude, religiously acknowledged by the happy voyagers, as the vessel floated on the bosom of what Hennepin styles, "the beautiful Lake Erie."

She now spread her sails to the auspicious breeze, and commenced her adventurous voyage. The vast inland seas over which she was about to navigate, had never been explored, save by the canoe of the Indian, timidly coasting along their shores. Without chart to warn of hidden dangers, she boldly ploughed her way,—the humble pioneer of the vast fleets of our modern lake commerce.

A moonless night succeeded. They had been told that Lake Erie was full of shoals, fatal to navigation; so they cautiously felt their way, sounding as they went.[2]

A thick fog now settled on the lake. Suddenly the sound of breakers was borne to the ears of the watchful crew, on the dark and murky night. All but La Salle were sure it was the noise of the waves, occasioned by a change of wind. But La Salle had seen the rude chart of Gallinée, made ten years before, containing a rough

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[1] Margry, Vol. I., p, 445.

[2] Hennepin, N. D., p. 121.

outline of the northern shore; showing Long Point, advancing south-eastward across the pathway of the *Griffon*. Suspecting they were approaching this danger, he ordered the pilot to change the course to east-north-east. They proceeded in that direction, under a light breeze, for two or three hours; hearing the same noise, and sounding constantly, without finding bottom. An hour later, the depth suddenly diminished to three fathoms. All hands were aroused, and the course changed. At length the fog lifted and Long Point lay directly before them. La Salle's conjections proved correct. His caution and vigilance had saved his bark from probable wreck.[2] On the next day, they doubled the dangerous headland, which they named Saint Francis;[3] now known as Long Point.

At sunset, they had already sailed forty-five leagues from the outlet of the lake. After another anxious night they reached the widest part of the lake; from the shores of which, on either hand, stretched interminable forests, unbroken by the faintest sign of civilization. Westward the course of Empire was now taking its way, under the flag of France, gallantly borne by her adventurous explorers, of which the projector and builder of the *Griffon* was the chief.

France was thus laying the foundations of her dominion over Canada, the North-west and Louisiana; soon to be wrested from her by the more powerful grasp of England—

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[2] Margry, Découv., Vol. II., p. 230.

[3] Hennepin, N. D., p. 122.

the latter, in her turn, compelled to yield the fairest portion of her conquest to her rebellious colonies.

On the ninth, the winds being favorable, and the lake smooth, *Pointe au Pins* and *Pointe Pellée* were doubled, on the right; and on the tenth, early in the morning, passing between *Pointe Pellée* and the Bass Islands, they reached the mouth of the Detroit river.[1]

Here they found Tonty and his men, waiting for the ship. They had encamped on a narrow beach at the mouth of the strait, with the river in front and a marsh in the rear. A fresh north-east wind had, during the night, so suddenly raised the water at that end of the lake, that it surprised and threatened to overwhelm them, in their slumbers. At break of day, the *Griffon* appeared—a welcome sight. They signaled her with three columns of smoke. She came to anchor at the summons, and received them on board.

On the eleventh, she entered the river and sailed up between *Grosse Isle* and *Bois Black* islands. Hennepin was even more impressed with the beautiful scenery of this river, than by that of the Niagara. Following the official account, he describes the strait as thirty leagues long; bordered by low and level banks, and navigable throughout its entire length. That on either hand were vast prairies, extending back to hills covered with vines, fruit trees, thickets and tall forests, so distributed as to seem rather the work of art, than of nature. All kinds

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[1] Margry Découv., Vol. I., p. 445. Hennepin, N. D., p. 122.

of game abounded, including many species new to the travelers. The awnings which covered the deck of the *Griffon*, were garnished with carcasses of deer, killed by the crew. Abundance of all kinds of timber, suitable for building purposes, was growing on shore; also fruit-bearing trees, including the walnut, the chestnut, plum and apple; together with wild vines, loaded with grapes, from which they made a little wine. "The inhabitants," says Hennepin, "who will have the good fortune, some day, to settle on this pleasant and fertile strait, will bless the memory of those who pioneered the way, and crossed Lake Erie by more than a hundred leagues of an untried navigation."[1]

Hennepin had failed to induce La Salle to found a colony on the banks of the Niagara. He now set forth the superior merits of the Detroit river for such an establishment, pressing its commercial advantages; while his real object, as avowed in his narrative, was to advance the interests of religion, under cover of secular considerations.[2] But he made no impression on the fixed purposes of La Salle, who resolutely pursued his way in the *Griffon*, intent on the accomplishment of the great enterprise he had inaugurated.

On the tenth of August, the festival of *Sainte Clare*, they entered and crossed the lake, which they named after that martyred saint. In attempting to pass from

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[1] Hennepin, N. D., p. 124. Margry, Dècouv., Vol. I., p. 445.

[2] Hennepin, N. D., p. 105.

the lake into the river above, they encountered the same obstacles, which, after the lapse of two centuries, confront the mariners of the present day. It is a reproach to the enterprise of two powerful commercial nations, that they should suffer such a barrier to exist, for a single season, in the great highway between the east and the west. In describing it, Hennepin says: "We found the mouth of the St. Clair river divided into many narrow channels, full of sand-bars and shoals. After carefully sounding them all, we discovered a very fine one, two or three fathoms deep, and almost a league wide, throughout its entire length."[1]

Contrary winds delayed their progress through the St. Clair river for several days. At length they were enabled to approach Lake Huron; but the violent current, increased by a northerly gale, prevented their advancing. The wind shifting to the south, they succeeded, with the aid of a dozen men towing on shore, as at the outlet of Lake Erie, in surmounting the rapids, which were pronounced by Hennepin almost as strong as those of the Niagara. They entered the lake on the twenty-third of August; the Franciscans chanting the *Te Deum* for the third time, and thanking the Almighty for their safe navigation thus far, and for the sight of the great bay of Lake Huron; on the eastern shores of which their brethren had established the

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[1] Hennepin, N. D., p. 128. Margry, Découv., Vol. I., p. 446. The figures in the text are greatly exaggerated. Neither of the channels through the St. Clair flats, are over half a mile wide, and their average depth is less than ten feet.

earliest missions in North America, sixty-four years before.[1]

As soon as they entered the lake, a fresh wind drove them rapidly along its eastern shore until evening, when it changed violently to the south-west. The *Griffon* then tacked to the north-west, and, running on that course all night, crossed the great bay of "*Sakinam*" (Saginaw), thirty miles in width, and which penetrates twice that distance into the heart of the Michigan Peninsula. When morning came, they were running in sight of land, on a north-westerly course, parallel with the western coast. This continued until evening, when they were becalmed in two fathoms water, among the Thunder Bay Islands. They sought, under easy sail, for an anchorage, during a part of the next night; but, finding none satisfactory, and the wind increasing from the west, they steered north to gain an offing, sounding their way and waiting for the day. La Salle, having discovered evidences of negligence on the part of the pilot, took personal supervision of the lead during the remainder of the voyage.[2]

On the twenty-fifth, they were becalmed until noon; when, favored by a southerly wind, they steered north-west. Suddenly, the wind veered to the south-west. At midnight, they changed their course to the north, to avoid a cape, since known as Presque Isle, which projected into the lake. Hardly had they doubled this, when a furious

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[1] Hennepin, N. D., p. 129.

[2] Margry, Découv., Vol. I, p. 447. Hennepin, N. D., p. 131

gale compelled them to beat to windward under main and foresail, and then to lie to until morning.[1]

On the twenty-sixth, the violence of the gale obliged them to send down their topmasts, to lash their yards to the deck, and drift at the mercy of the storm. At noon, the waves ran so high and the lake became so rough, as to compel them to stand in for the land.[2]

At this junction, as related by Hennepin, La Salle entered the cabin in much alarm, exclaiming that he commended his enterprise to the Divine protection. "We had been accustomed," says Hennepin, "during the entire voyage, to fall on our knees morning and evening, to say our prayers publicly, and sing some hymns of the church. But the storm was now so violent, that we could not remain on deck. In this extremity, each one performed his devotions independently, as well as he could, except our pilot, who could never be persuaded to follow our example. He complained that the Sieur de la Salle had brought him thus far, to lose, in a fresh-water lake, the glory he had acquired in many successful voyages by sea."[3]

In this fearful crisis, La Salle was induced, by the importunity of the Recollects, to make a special vow; and, taking Saint Anthony de Padua, the tutelary saint of the sailor, for his patron, he promised, that if God would deliver them from their present peril, the first chapel erected

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[1] Margry, Découv., Vol. I., p. 447.

[2] Margry, Découv., Vol. I., p. 447.

[3] Hennepin, N. D., p. 132.

in Louisiana should be dedicated to the memory of that venerated saint. The vow seems to have met a response, for the wind slightly decreased. They were obliged, however, to lie to, drifting slowly all night, unable to find either anchorage or shelter.

On the twenty-seventh, they were driven north-westerly until evening; when, under favor of a light southerly breeze, they rounded Point St. Ignace, and anchored in the calm waters of the bay of Missillimackinac, described as a sheltered harbor, protected on all sides, except from the south-east.[1] Here our voyagers found a settlement, composed of Hurons (*Kiskakons*), Ottawas, and a few Frenchmen. A bark-covered chapel bore the emblem of the cross, erected over a mission planted by the Jesuits. Like a dim taper, it shone, with feeble light, in a vast wilderness of pagan darkness. Here it was that Marquette and Jolliet, priest and layman, organized, six years before, their memorable voyage down the Mississippi; and here the bones of the honored missionary found a grave, until rifled by some sacreligious relic hunter. A few fragments that were spared, have been gathered and preserved with pious care, soon to be deposited under a monument, which will be visible far and wide, over land and water; and show, to coming generations, where the thrice-buried remains of the heroic Marquette have found a final resting place.

The safe arrival of the *Griffon* in this secure haven, was the occasion of great rejoicing to the weary voyagers. A

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[1] Margry, Découv., Vol. I., p. 447.

salute was fired from her deck, and thrice responded to by the fire-arms of the Hurons on shore. Mass was gratefully celebrated by the Franciscans, in the chapel of the Ottawas. La Salle attended, robed in fine clothes, including a scarlet cloak bordered with gold lace; his arms being laid aside in the chapel, in charge of a sentinel. In the distance, the *Griffon* lay at anchor; presenting, with her fine equipment, an imposing appearance. More than a hundred bark canoes gathered around her, attracted by the novel spectacle.[1]

La Salle found, at Missillimackinac, a part of the fifteen men that he had sent forward from Fort Frontenac to trade with the Illinois Indians, and whom he supposed were already among the latter. They had listened to reports on the way, that the plans of La Salle were visionary, and that the *Griffon* would never reach Missillimackinac. La Salle seized four of the deserters; and, learning that two more were at the Saut Sainte Marie, he despatched Tonty on the twenty-ninth of September, with six assistants, to arrest them.

As the season was rapidly passing away, he was unable to wait for Tonty's return, and gave orders for the departure of the *Griffon*. On the twelfth of September, five days before Tonty's return, she sailed out of the straits, into Lake Michigan, then named Illinois.[2] A prosperous run

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[1] Hennepin, N. D., p. 135. Margry, Dèconv., Vol. I., pp. 449, 579.

[2] Margry, Vol. I., p. 450. Hennepin, La., p. 68. Hennepin, N. D., p. 140. Hennepin says, the *Griffon* left Missillimackinac on the second of September.

brought her to an island since called Washington Island, forty leagues from Missillimackinac, inhabited by the Pottawatamies. It is situated at the entrance of *La Grand Baie*, a name since corrupted into Green Bay. Some of the party were found there, who had been sent forward by La Salle to the Illinois, the year previous. They had collected a large quantity of furs, to the amount of 12,000 pounds, in anticipation of the arrival of the *Griffon*. Our navigators found secure shelter in a small bay, now known as Detroit harbor, on the southerly side of the island, where they rode out, at anchor, a violent storm of four days' duration.[1]

As winter was now approaching, La Salle loaded the *Griffon* with the furs which had thus been collected; intending to send them to the storehouse he had built above the falls; from thence to be transhipped to Fort Frontenac, in satisfaction of the claims of his creditors. His own purpose was to pursue his route, by canoe, to the head of Lake Michigan; and from thence to the country of the Illinois. Being unable to obtain more than four canoes, which were wholly insufficient to contain all the merchandise and the various articles destined for his southern enterprise, he was obliged to leave a portion of his goods in the *Griffon*, with directions to the pilot to deposit them at Missillimackinac, until the vessel should call for them, on her return voyage.[2]

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[1] Margry, Découv., Vol. I., p. 450. Hennepin, N. D., p. 140.

[2] Margry, Découv., Vol. I., p. 450.

The *Griffon* sailed for the Niagara on the eighteenth of September, but without La Salle; a fatal error, which probably caused the loss of the vessel, her cargo and crew. A favorable wind bore her from the harbor; and, with a single gun, she bid adieu to her enterprising builder, who never saw her again. She bore a cargo, valued, with the vessel, at fifty or sixty thousand francs, obtained at a great sacrifice of time and treasure. She was placed under the command of the pilot, Luc, assisted by a supercargo and five good sailors; with directions to call at Missillimackinac, and from thence proceed to the Niagara. Nothing more was heard of her. On the second day after she sailed, a storm arose which lasted five days. It was one of those destructive gales which usually prevail at that season over the northern lakes. She is reported to have been seen among the islands in the northerly end of Lake Michigan, two days after sailing, by some Pottawatamies, who advised the pilot to wait for more favorable weather. They last saw her half a league from the shore, helplessly driven by the storm upon a sandy bar, where she probably foundered; a total loss, with all on board.[1]

A hatchway, a cabin door, the truck of a flag-staff, a piece of rope, a pack of spoiled beaver skins, two pair of linen breeches torn and spoiled with tar, were subsequently found, and recognized as relics of the ill-fated ship.[2]

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[1] Hennepin, N. D., p. 142. Margry, Dècouv., Vol. I., pp. 430, 451.

[2] Margry, Dècouv., Vol. II., p. 74.

The day after she sailed, La Salle, with the Recollects and fourteen men, left in four bark canoes, laden with a forge and its appurtenances, carpenters', joiners', and sawyers' tools, with arms and merchandise, and pursued his way along the western shore of Lake Michigan, and entered the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, in the prosecution of his enterprise. After leaving Green Bay, he had hardly crossed half way from the island to the main shore, when the same storm in which the *Griffon* was wrecked, burst upon his party, in all its fury. They succeeded in landing in a small sandy bay, where they were detained five days, waiting for the abatement of the tempest. In the mean time, La Salle was filled with anxious forebodings as to the safety of his vessel.[1] Many months elapsed before he heard of its loss. It was not the only disaster, but one of a series, which befell this enterprising explorer. Yet his iron will was not subdued, nor his impetuous ardor diminished. He continued to prosecute his discoveries, under the most disheartening reverses, with a self reliance and energy that never faltered. He was equal to every situation, whether sharing the luxuries of civilized life, or the privations of the wilderness; whether contending with the snows of a Canadian winter, or the burning heats of Texas; whether paddling his canoe along the northern lakes, or seeking, by sea, for the mouth of the Mississippi. His eventful life embodied the elements of a grand epic poem, full of romantic interest and graphic incident; alter-

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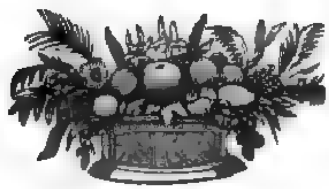
[1] Hennepin, N. D., p. 144. Margry, Découv., Vol. I., p. 451.

nating in success and failure, and culminating in a tragic death.

France and America, in friendly and honorable rivalry, are now seeking to do justice to his fame. The rehearsal of the story of the *Griffon*, the building of which, through his enterprise, was the earliest event of historical interest on the Niagara frontier, seems, on this bi-centennial anniversary, an appropriate tribute to his memory.



NARRATIVE OF THE EXPEDITION OF THE MARQUIS DE NONVILLE, AGAINST THE SENECAS IN 1687.[1]

Introduction.

THE following Journal of the Expedition of the Marquis De Nonville against the Senecas, was communicated by him to the French Government, in the month of October, 1687. It was copied from the original in the archives of the Marine Department in France, under the supervision of J. Romeyn Brodhead, Esq., the agent sent to Europe by the state of New York, to procure documents relating to its early history.

The copy, of which the following is a translation, may be found among the "*Paris Documents*," deposited in the State Department at Albany. It has never been published before, either in the original French or in English.

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[1] Reprinted from vol. II., of the N. Y. Historical Society's New Series. For the use of the copy containing this paper, the editor is greatly indebted to the unfailing courtesy of H. A. Homes, the urbane librarian of the N. Y. State Library at Albany.

The Baron Le Hontan, who travelled extensively along the Northern Lakes, near the close of the 17th century, was in the expedition, and has given a brief account of it in his "Travels," a translation of which will be found in the appendix.

Colden, in his History of the Five Nations, and Smith, in his History of New York, each give an account of the incursion, in which they follow La Hontan almost verbatim.

The Journal of De Nonville will be found to be a minute diary of what transpired from the commencement to the close of the expedition, and corrects many of the errors into which the above named historians have fallen.

The Marquis was a colonel in the French dragoons, and succeeded M. De La Barre, in the year 1685, as Governor General of Canada, or New France, as it was then called. The age and infirmities of M. De La Barre, and the unfortunate result of the expedition he undertook against the Iroquois, in which he was so signally overmatched by the shrewdness and eloquence of the famous Gazangula[1] at *La Famine*, or Hungry Bay, induced the French Government to recall him, and to send in his place, a man, who, according to the testimony of Charlevoix, was equally esteemed for his valor, his wisdom and his piety.

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[1] His name is thus written by La Hontan. It appears to be a corruption of the French words *La Grande Gueule*, or "the big mouth," by which he was known to the French. This noted chief was a Seneca, and was called by his people Haaskouan.

When the new Governor assumed the direction of affairs in the Province, he found it necessary to restrain the ferocity, and curb the pride of the Iroquois, who maintained a tone of insolent defiance towards the colony. To accomplish this purpose, he resolved upon an expedition to lay waste the fields and destroy the villages of the Senecas, then located near the Genesee river, and to construct a fort at the mouth of the Niagara, which in connection with Fort Catarocouy,[1] would not only hold that warlike tribe in check, but give the French complete command of the Lakes, and of the valuable fur trade which was then an object of contention between them and the English.

At this period, the northern, middle and western parts of the state of New York were a howling wilderness, and the Five Nations ranged their hunting grounds in unmolested freedom.

The English claimed jurisdiction over them as subjects of the crown, and information in regard to the hostile preparations of the French, was soon carried by the watchful Iroquois to the ears of Colonel Dongan, Governor of New York. The latter immediately wrote to the Marquis De Nonville, that from the great collection of provisions at Catarocouy, the Iroquois were persuaded an attack was meditated against them—that they were subjects of the crown of England, and any injury to them would be an open infraction of the peace which existed between their

[1] Now Kingston.

two Kings. He also stated that he understood the French intended to construct a fort at Niagara, which astonished him exceedingly, as no one could be ignorant, that it lay within the jurisdiction of New York.

M. De Nonville replied to this letter, that the Iroquois feared chastisement, because they knew they deserved it; that the provisions collected at Catarocouy were required for the large garrison necessarily kept at that point—that the pretensions of England to the lands of the Iroquois were unfounded, as the French had taken possession of them long before there was an Englishman in New York. He further stated, that while their Kings and masters were living in perfect amity, it would be unwise for their Lieutenant Generals to embroil themselves in war.

It does not appear that Colonel Dongan took any measures to counteract the designs of De Nonville, except by giving warning to the Iroquois of their impending danger, and by supplying them with arms and ammunition.

It not being known upon which of the tribes the blow would fall, no effectual measures could be taken to avert it. As the sequel proved, the French kept their own counsel, and made their attack at a point which had hitherto escaped invasion.

It will appear from the Journal, that the first open act of hostility committed by the French, was the seizure of a number of the Iroquois, including some chiefs, at Catarocouy, and in their villages in its vicinity.

To lure them within his power, De Nonville made use of the influence of the Jesuit Father Lamberville, who

acted in ignorance of his design. They were seized for the alleged purpose of preventing them from communicating intelligence to their tribes of the movements of the French.

News of the seizure soon reached the Onondagas, among whom Father Lamberville was then residing as a missionary, and for whose safety much solicitude was entertained.

The chiefs immediately assembled in council, and sending for the Father, related the above transaction with all the energy which a just indignation could arouse, and while he expected to feel the full effects of the rage which he saw depicted in every countenance, one of the old men unexpectedly addressed to him the following remarkable language, as related by Lamberville himself:

"It cannot be denied," says he, "that many reasons authorize us to treat you as an enemy, but we have no inclination to do so. We know you too well not to be persuaded that your heart has taken no part in the treachery of which you have been the instrument, and we are not so unjust as to punish you for a crime of which we believe you innocent, which you undoubtedly detest as much as we do, and for having been the instrument of which we are satisfied you are now deeply grieved. It is not proper, however, that you should remain here. All will not, perhaps, render you the justice which we accord, and when once our young men shall have sung their war song, they will look upon you only as a traitor, who has delivered over our chiefs to a cruel and ignoble slavery. They will

listen only to their own rage, from which we will then be unable to save you."

Having said this, they obliged him to leave immediately, and furnished guides to conduct him, by a safe route, who did not leave him until he was out of danger.

It appears from a speech of Colonel Dongan, delivered at a council held with the Five Nations, at Albany, soon after the expedition of De Nonville, that Lamberville gave immediate notice to the French Governor of all communications and propositions which were made to the Onondagas by the English, one of the letters, which he had entrusted to an Indian, having been intercepted and carried to Colonel Dongan.

De Nonville's plans and arrangements seem to have been judiciously conceived. His army was well supplied with the necessary provisions and munitions of war, and commanded by able officers. So perfectly were his orders obeyed, that his own army, and the reinforcements from Niagara which he had directed to meet him, arrived simultaneously at the outlet of Irondequoit bay, a coincidence which his savage allies considered ominous of the success of the expedition.

Some difference of opinion has existed as to the precise point where the battle between the French and Senecas occurred. Col. Stone, late editor of the "New York Commercial Advertiser," and William H. C. Hosmer, Esq., author of "Yonnondio," a poem of which the expedition of De Nonville is the theme, locate the place near West Avon, on the eastern banks of the Genesee. Governor

Clinton, in his "Discourse on the Iroquois," published among the Collections of the New York Historical Society,[1] states that "the place on which the battle was fought, was formerly owned by Judge Porter, of Grand Niagara. On ploughing the land, three hundred hatchets and upwards of three thousand lbs. of old iron were found, being more than sufficient to defray the expense of clearing it."

The field referred to by Governor Clinton, was located about six miles northeast of Avon, and half a mile west of the Honeoye Falls. At the time of the first settlement of the Genesee country, it exhibited conclusive evidence of having been the site of a large Indian village. Judge Porter became the owner of the tract in 1795, and in 1800 ploughed a field of forty acres and sowed it with wheat. An Indian burying ground was embraced within its limits, and so uneven was the ground, occasioned by the numerous graves, that they were compelled to level it with the spade before the teams could pass over it. In ploughing the whole field, they turned up hatchets, gun barrels and locks, lead, and pieces of brass kettles, weighing in all about one thousand pounds. Around the graves were beds of ashes, and small mounds of black earth, such as are formed near dwellings by the accumulation of chips. From these indications, Governor Clinton was led to conclude it was on this spot that the French army was met by the Senecas.

Not being able to reconcile either of the foregoing locations with the account given by De Nonville, and as the

[1] Vol. II. p. 67.

villages he visited had long been abandoned, and their names had ceased to be used at the time of the settlement of the Genesee country, it became impossible to ascertain their locality, without recourse to the descendants of the tribe by whom they had been inhabited.

Although the Senecas have long since yielded to the white man the beautiful valley of the Genesee, and the fertile fields they ranged so long, still many of their old men are now living, who having hunted over that territory in their youth, possess an intimate knowledge of its topography, and have treasured up many stories and traditions connected with the lakes and streams, valleys and hills which diversify its surface. The principal part of the tribe are now concentrated on the Cattaraugus reservation, about thirty miles southwest of the city of Buffalo. The remainder are located on the Tonnewanda and Alleghany reservations.

It was considered an interesting subject of inquiry, whether any, and if so, how correct an account of De Nonville's expedition had been handed down among the traditions of that people, and inquiries were first made for that purpose among the old men residing on the Cattaraugus reservation. The result was altogether unsatisfactory. It seemed to have almost faded from the memory of the nation during the lapse of less than two centuries. One old man who appeared familiar with the topography of the country in question, related a tradition which undoubtedly refers to the French invasion. It is incorrect, however, in most particulars, but as an interesting speci-

men of Indian narration, it is presented to the reader, in the style in which it was communicated. The speaker had never heard of De Nonville's expedition, except from the oral annals of his nation.

On being asked if a French army had ever invaded the territory of the Senecas, he immediately, in a very animated manner, related the following tradition, which he said had been handed down among his family connections, who had resided near where the events occurred.

"A long while ago, perhaps almost two hundred years, a large army of French came into the bay and landed at O-nyiú-da-on'-da-gwat,[1] There were several vessels full of soldiers, perhaps as many as ten, but the exact number I do not recollect. At first they traded peaceably with our people, but soon it was discovered that they were intending war. Our warriors were all absent, fighting with the Gwah-'-gwah-gé-o-noh, in the country between the head waters of the Eighteen-mile Creek and the Alleghany river. Only the old men, too old to fight, and the young men, too young to go to war, and the women and children were at home. Of these there was a vast multitude, for the population of their chief town, Ga-ó-sä-eh'-gä-aah, was so great, that a kernel of corn for each person made a quantity sufficient to fill five vessels containing one gallon each. As soon as the old chief learned that the French were in a hostile attitude, he said, 'We shall die now, for our warriors are not here to defend us, but let us do what we

[1] Irondequoit Bay.

can to help ourselves.' They then collected all the boys who were big enough to handle the club, and went to a place where the cliffs shut in the valley of the Genesee, into a long defile through which they perceived the enemy intended to pass. Here they sat down under the cliffs, two deep, and kept concealed until the front of the enemy were just passing out of the defile. They then rose with a yell which was answered by the French. A desperate conflict ensued. The Indians had no arrows, nothing but the war club. The French army was so long, that the rear reached back almost to the harbor. They rushed on. The dead fell in heaps—at length the French gave way, fled to their vessels, and left the country. Their rout was complete and effectual Their bones filled the defile and whitened all the valley, like the seeds where a heap of pumpkins have been broken or rotten on the ground. This the boys accomplished with their clubs, under the direction of the old chief, in the absence of the warriors."

Tit'-ho-yoh', the interpreter, who is called William Jones by the whites, married a relative of Red Jacket and knew him intimately. He states that the chief often mentioned, that when a boy, he used to hear the old men speak of a large party of French soldiers, who penetrated the Indian country along the Genesee, to a place called in the Seneca language Sgoh'-sa-is'-thah. He did not admit, however, that the Indians suffered any serious defeat, which may be readily accounted for, from the known fact, that they seldom speak of disastrous occurrences, with which any mortifying recollections are associated. Red Jacket was

misinformed as to the route pursued by the French, as will fully appear in the sequel.

In the course of the inquiries made among the Senecas on the Cattaraugus reservation, frequent reference was made by them to Dyū ne-ho-gāăh'-wăh,[1] the principal chief of the Tonewandas, who is better known to the whites by the name of John Blacksmith. He hunted in his youth over the country embraced within the limits of the present counties of Monroe, Livingston and Ontario, and thus acquired an intimate knowledge of the old Indian localities. This, added to a remarkable memory for one of his age, rendered it probable that he was possessed of the desired information. An interview was accordingly had with him at his residence on the banks of the Tonewanda, and much interesting information was obtained. Without apprising him of the object of the inquiry, he was asked if he had ever heard that a French army penetrated the Genesee country in olden time? In answer to which he related the following tradition.

"About four generations ago, a French army landed secretly and unexpectedly at a place called by the Senecas Gan-nyé-o-dat'-hah, which is a short distance from the head of O-nyiu'-da-on'-da-gwat', or Irondequoit Bay, as it is called by the whites. They immediately marched into the interior towards the ancient village of the Senecas,

[1] The meaning of this name is, "*at the open door*," it being the title of the sachem whose station is at the western door of the "Long House," of the Six Nations, and has been applied to Blacksmith, since the deposition and death of Little Johnson.

called Ga-ó-sä-eh'-gä-aah, following the main beaten path which led directly to that place.

"As soon as the Indians residing at the village received intelligence of their approach, they sent news to the inhabitants of the neighboring town of Gah-ä'-yän-duk. On being reinforced by them they met the French as they advanced towards the former village, and a severe battle ensued. On account of their inferior numbers, the Indians were defeated, and fled to a village then located near the foot of Canandaigua Lake. The French advanced, burned the village, and laid waste the adjacent cornfields. As soon as they had accomplished the above object, they retraced their steps towards the landing. Runners having been despatched by the Senecas to their principal towns, to give notice of the presence of the enemy, a large force was soon collected to defend the village, and capture the French. When they reached Ga-ó-sä-eh'-gä-aah, nothing remained of that village but its smoking ruins. They immediately pursued the French, and arrived at the bay a short time too late. The expedition had left the shore and were not yet out of sight.

The place where the battle occurred was near a small stream with a hill on one side, and was long known to the Senecas by the name of Dya-go-di'-yu, or "*the place of a battle.*"

For the purpose of identifying this point, a map of the country overrun by the French, on which the lakes, rivers, and creeks were correctly delineated, was laid before the chief, on which he was requested to designate the battle

field. After examining it attentively for a short time, during which he recognized the various places with which he had become familiar in his youthful rambles, his finger rested upon a point near the present village of Victor, in the county of Ontario, about ten miles north-west of Canandaigua. As this was an unlooked for location, it having been generally supposed that the engagement took place either in the vicinity of Avon, or between that village and Irondequoit Bay, Blacksmith was questioned particularly upon the subject, and found to be very positive as to the locality. Although his knowledge is derived only from tradition, the peculiar facilities he has possessed for obtaining correct information, entitle him to much credit. His ancestors resided at Ga-ó-sa-eh'-gă-aah, the village nearest the battle ground, and it was natural that they should transmit to their descendants an accurate account of the disasters they experienced from such unusual occurrences, as the invasion of their territory by the French, and the destruction of one of their principal villages.

The etymology of the name, Ga-ó-să-eh'-gă-aah, as explained by Blacksmith, will also throw some light upon the identity of this place. He says that the whole village was supplied by one spring, which issued from the side of a hill. To procure the water more conveniently, the Indians made troughs or conductors of basswood bark, which, when stripped from the tree, curls readily into the proper shape, and with these they conducted the water to a point where it could be caught in their vessels.

The fact that this was the only spring in the vicinity, gave prominence to the use of the basswood bark, and


Plan
of the
BATTLE GROUND
and
adjacent Country.
Route of the Rapids
Elevated Ridge
Swamp
Slaughter
Battle ground
Victor Village
Flats
Indian Trail
White Brook
Great Brook
Flats
Cah-g'-yan-doh
or Fort Hill
Old Trench
Spring
Springs
Moores
Springs
Boughton's Hill
Site of the ancient Seneca
Village Ga-o-ji ah-ga-ga
Indian Trail
Indian Trail

piloted the French and Indians from the mouth of Irondequoit Bay to the Indian village.

There are now many indications of the former existence of extensive Indian settlements in the town of Victor, above mentioned, within the circuit of three miles, and Indian hatchets, gun locks of rude construction, gun barrels, beads, pieces of brass kettles, stone pipes, &c., &c., have been frequently found. So great a quantity of gun barrels, hatchets, &c., were many years ago ploughed up on the south part of the great lot number four, in the same town, that, by reason of the scarcity of iron in the new settlements at that early period, it became an important acquisition for the supply of the blacksmith's shop. Thousands of graves were then to be seen, many of which are yet visible, and rude implements, of savage construction, are often found on opening them. On the site of the old village, large quantities of charred corn have been turned up by the plough, showing that the village was destroyed by fire.

The precise place where the battle occurred, is a short distance west of the present village of Victor, on the north-eastern edge of a large swamp, and on the northerly side of a stream now called Great Brook. On the first settlement of the country, it was partly covered with a thick growth of timber, and dense underbrush, forming a very advantageous place for an Indian ambuscade. It is about a mile and a quarter north-west of the site of the old Indian village on Boughton's Hill, called by De Nonville "Gannagaro," which is a Mohawk word.

Its identity with Ga-ó-sä-eh'-gä-aah, the Seneca name of the same village, as given by Blacksmith, is not obvious, but the changes which the former has undoubtedly undergone in receiving its French dress, may possibly account for the discrepance. That both names refer to the same place, there can be no doubt. Wentworth Greenhalp, in his journal of a "Voyage from Albany to the Indians in 1677," says that "the Seneca village, Canagorah, is situated on the top of a great hill, much like that at Onondaga." This description corresponds with the situation of the old village on Boughton Hill.

The "Fort," mentioned by De Nonville, "of eight hundred paces in circumference, and situated on a very advantageous height, distant half a league from Gannagaro," is still an object of much interest to the antiquarian. Although the plough has levelled its trenches, and nearly obliterated the evidences of its former occupancy, enough remains to identify the spot. The same solitary spring referred to by De Nonville, as the only one by which the fort was supplied, still oozes from the declivity of the hill, a living witness of the locality. The height on which the fort was situated, is about a mile and a quarter westerly from the site of Gannagaro, a wide valley intervening. It has long been known by the name of "Fort Hill," among the inhabitants in its vicinity. Its summit is perfectly level, embracing an area of about forty acres. Its eastern and southern declivity is quite precipitous, along the top of which a trench was visible for many years after the first settlement of the country. A deep path led from the

south-east angle of the fort to the spring in question, and was probably protected by the "advanced entrenchment," mentioned by De Nonville. The Senecas called the fortification, Gah-ă'-yan-duk, which means literally, "there was a fort there."

Three other villages were also visited by the French expedition, to wit: Gan-no-ga-rae, Totiakto and Gannounata. The first is described as being a short league from Gannagaro. It must have been situated southerly from that place, as numerous indications of an ancient Indian village in that vicinity existed at the first settlement of the country. The only one which answers to De Nonville's description, is Chi'-nos-hăh'-gĕh, which was located in the north-east part of the present town of East Bloomfield, about three and one-half miles south-east of Boughton's Hill, near where the old Indian trail crossed Mud Creek. Its name and location is well preserved by Indian tradition. When first discovered by the whites, this site bore many evidences of former Indian occupancy, and there is but little doubt that the *Gannogarae* of De Nonville, was at this point.

To-ti-ak-to is described as a large valley, four leagues, or twelve miles from Gannagaro. On searching for a village about that distance, it was ascertained that one of considerable importance formerly existed in the north-eastern-most bend of the Honeoye outlet, near West Mendon, in Monroe County. This village is called by Blacksmith, De-yu'-di-haak'-doh, which he says, signifies "*the*

bend," from its location in a bend of the Honeoye. Its site is just eleven miles from Gannagaro. Its identity with To-ti-ak-to, will be perceived, when it is remembered that the French, in spelling Indian words, change *d* to *t*, and often omit the *y* when it comes before a vowel. They also, seldom, if ever, insert the nasal sounds of the vowels. The distance of this village from Gannagaro, corresponds with sufficient exactness with the four leagues given by De Nonville.

The distance which the expedition traveled in returning from To-ti-ak-to, to the point where they landed, is stated by De Nonville at eight leagues. He undoubtedly pursued a somewhat circuitous route on his return, in order the more effectually to lay waste the fields of the Senecas. The distance may thus have been easily increased to eight leagues.

As a further evidence that the To-ti-ak-to, mentioned by De Nonville, and the De-yu'-di-haak'-doh of Blacksmith, refer to the same village, it may be mentioned, that Mr. Greenhalp, in his journal above quoted, mentions "Ti-o-te-hat-ton," as a Seneca village lying to the westward of Canagorah, "near the river Ti-o-te-hat-ton, *which signifies*" "*bending*." The resemblance in orthography of the last name, with that given by De Nonville, and its similarity in meaning with the name given by Blacksmith, refer both to the same locality.

The remaining village mentioned by De Nonville as Gannounata, two leagues from To-ti-ak-to, has not been

positively identified. There was a village about two miles south-east of East Avon, at the source of the small stream which empties into the Conesus, near Avon Springs. This place was called by the Senecas "Dyu-do'o-sòt," from its location "at the spring." Seneca tradition has not preserved the name or location of any other village that answers so well to De Nonville's description of Gannounata, and it is quite probable that this is the identical site.

The Baron La Hontan, in his account of the expedition before referred to, gives the names of two of the villages visited by the French as "The-ga-ron-hies," and "Da-non-ca-ri-ta-rui," the former being the same village visited by Father Hennepin in 1679, eight years previous. Neither of these names are mentioned by De Nonville, and there seemed to be a discrepance wholly irreconcileable. It is very probable, however, that they are intended for two high Seneca Sachems of the Snipe Clan, called in the Seneca dialect, "De gă-o-yes," and "Ga-noh'-gă-ih'-da-wih." They were very distinguished men, and when the names of the villages were sought for, they were probably described to La Hontan as the residences of the above named chiefs. It is remarkable that La Fiteau, in describing the Indian custom of "calling their lands after their own names," adduces the name of this identical chief as an example.

"Parmi les Tsonnontouans, *Tsonnonkeritaoui* et Teionninnokaraouen, sont des noms affectez au pays, et à quelquesuns des Chefs, particulièrment à celui qui est le maitre du village." *La Fiteau Mœurs des Sauvages.* T. II., p. 172.

It is very probable that the names mentioned by La Hontan, were given to the two chiefs in commemoration of their exploits, for at the commencement of the war between the Iroquois and the Adirondacks or Algonkins, it was agreed, that the clan which should cross the lake seven times, and return with the trophies of victory, should be entitled to the highest honors.

The Snipes under these two Sachems accomplished this feat, and their names, like official titles among civilized nations, have been transmitted to their successors, who are invested, even at the present day, with something of the glory of their predecessors.

It may also be stated in this connection, that Father Garnier, who was long a missionary among the Iroquois, being found in one of their villages by Hennepin in his embassy to the Senecas in 1679, mentions a Seneca Chief by the name of Shon-non-ke-ri-ta-oui,[1] and in writing from the Seneca Country in 1672, he calls the same chief On-non-ken-ri-ta-oui, and says "he is the most distinguished chief of the Senecas."[2]

At the period of De Nonville's invasion, the Iroquois were composed of five nations only, the Tuscaroras not having as yet been received into the confederacy. The French Jesuits, who visited them at an early day, and

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[1] La Fiteau, T. III, p. 159.

[2] Relation, 1671-2, p. 84.

established missions in their principal villages, designated the respective cantons by the following names:

Mohawk,	Anniegué.
Oneida,	Onneiout.
Onondaga,	Onnontagué.
Cayuga,	Oïogüen.
Seneca,	Sonnontouan.

Father Le Mercier states that in 1665, the Mohawks numbered 3 or 400 warriors, the Oneidas 140, the Onondagas 300, the Cayugas 300, and the Senecas 1200, making 2340 men, capable of carrying on war.[1]

In 1667, Colonel Courcey, agent for Virginia, estimated the number of warriors belonging to the Five Nations as follows:

Mohawks,	300	Cayugas,	300
Oneidas,	200	Senecas,	1,000
Onondagas,	350		
		Total,	2,150[2]

These two estimates differ but little from that of De Nonville, who gives their number at 2000. Taking both for a basis, the whole population must have exceeded 7000 souls.

The French gained little honor and no advantage in their expedition. Their inefficiency disgusted their Indian allies, one of whom, an Ottawa, said they were only fit to make war on Indian corn and bark canoes.

[1] Relation, 1664–5, p. 45.

[2] Chalmers' Political Annals, p. 606.

The writer cannot conclude without acknowledging the many obligations he is under to the Rev. Asher Wright, of the Cattaraugus Mission, for the information which his critical knowledge of the Seneca language enabled him to supply, particularly in regard to the orthography and meaning of the Indian geographical terms noticed on the map.

Also to the Hon. Augustus Porter, of Niagara Falls, one of the early pioneers of Western New York, who communicated some valuable details respecting the topography of that part of the Genesee country embraced within the operations of De Nonville.

Acknowledgments are also due to Messrs. Dwyer, Aylworth, and Moore, of Victor, in Ontario County, for interesting information, and local traditions, which their early residence in that region enabled them to furnish.

JOURNAL.

THE strength of the enemy consisted in the firm union which exists among the five great cantons of the Iroquois nation, each of which is in many respects dependent on the rest. They number altogether more than two thousand armed men, capable of carrying on war, and for many years have been held in such dread by all the nations of North America, that we

expected every day to see all the savage allies and friends of the Colony join them, through fear of so formidable an enemy.

The above reasons, and also because religion, through the opposition of these enemies, has made no progress for a long time, induced the King to send me orders to wage war against them.

We were all winter getting ready for that purpose, and providing ourselves with everything necessary for an enterprise so arduous by reason of the remoteness of the enemy, and the difficult navigation of the river St. Lawrence (which, for the space of thirty leagues, is full of cascades, waterfalls, and rapids), and also of the great Lake Ontario, a sea of two hundred leagues in circumference, on which violent and frequent winds prevail.

These cantons of the enemy are situated on the south side of said Lake, widely separated from each other, and surrounded with small lakes, swamps, woods, and rivers. They are at unequal distances from Lake Ontario, so that one cannot reach them, except by land through the forests, carrying his provisions on his back during all the time he is compelled to be away from said Lake.

In aid of the prosecution of this war, we resolved to place in security the post of Catarocouy,[1] which is a small

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[1] Fort Cataroouoy, or "Cadaracqui," as the English called it, was built by the Count de Frontenac, in 1673, as a check upon the Iroquois, and was for a long time called after his name. It was situated

redoubt built by M. de Frontenac, at the foot of Lake Ontario.

This plan is also necessary for the establishment of a magazine, and for the security of three barks, which were in very bad condition. Two of them were built for the Sieur de La Salle, for the fur trade on said Lake, and the third by M. de la Barre, for the service of the King.

During all the summer of the preceding year, I was very desirous of establishing a magazine of provisions and munitions at that place, but was restrained from doing so, through fear of alarming those barbarians, who, incited and instigated by the English to make war upon us, in order to obtain control of the fur trade, were at that time on the point of falling upon the colony. They would undoubtedly have done so, had it not been for the care and shrewdness of the Reverend Father de Lamberville, a Jesuit missionary in one of their villages, who by his influence, averted the storm which would have been the more fatal, from our being unprepared to protect ourselves against their incursions. We were daily on the eve of great misfortunes. But Heaven ordered it otherwise, since it willed that we should ourselves be the assailants.

Thus all the last summer was passed in negotiations, which terminated in an agreement that both parties should meet at Catarocouy, to take measures for the conclusion

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near the present city of Kingston, in Canada West. In 1678, it was rebuilt by La Salle, with stone, in the form of a square, flanked by four bastions. It was about three-fourths of a mile in circumference.

of a general peace. But the pride of that nation, accustomed to see others yield to its tyranny, and the insult which they have continued to heap both upon the French and on our savage allies, have induced us to believe there is no use in negotiating with them but with arms in our hands, and we have all winter been preparing to pay them a visit.

After the ice thawed in the spring, we determined to send flour to Catarocouy, with the bark canoes we were able to collect, and urged the *habitans* to hasten the sowing of their seed, that they might be ready to march with the eight hundred troops which have been in the country for two years.

The levies upon our *habitans* amounted to eight hundred men, besides more than a hundred of the most skillful, destined for an escort.

The first mustering of the *habitans* from the environs of Quebec, took place on the 24th day of May, but being delayed for eight days by a furious north-east wind, we could not muster the eight hundred soldiers and the eight hundred *habitans* at Montreal, until the 10th of June, and we then distributed among them the batteaux, designed to carry eight men in each, with their provisions for two months.

Our troops were arranged for the march as follows: — Eight platoons of two hundred men each, were under the command of eight of the best officers, as well of the troops as of the *habitans*. Six batteaux formed a company, each batteau carrying eight men. Each commandant of two hundred men, had charge of twenty-four batteaux, which

were arranged and numbered up to twenty four and carried in the first the flag by which the twenty-four batteaux were distinguished.

The names of the four commandants of the troops, were D'Orvilliers, St. Cirq, De Troyes and Vallerennes. veteran captains of infantry, and good officers. The four captains of the *habitans* were Berthier, La Valterge, Granville, and Longueil Le Moyne, all four very competent for the command.

The four commandants of the troops had with them M. Le Chevalier de Vaudreuil, recently arrived from France to take command of the King's forces in this country. The four commandants of the militia had for their commandant General the Sieur Duguay, a veteran officer of the Carignan,[1] a long time established in this country.

M. De Callieres was commander-in-chief of both divisions under my orders. The order of march throughout the entire voyage, was a battalion of troops, succeeded by one of militia, alternately, that they might be in readiness to afford each other assistance, our *habitans* being the most experienced in this mode of traveling.

In respect to our savage allies who live in the Colony, and who followed us to the number of about four hundred,

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[1] The name of this officer is spelled "Du Gue," by Charlevoix. He is probably the person of that name who accompanied Father Hennepin, in his early exploration of the Mississippi, seven years previous. There was a regiment in the French service called the regiment of "*Carignan Salieres*," which is probably the one referred to in the text.

their order of march was not prescribed, that they might serve as scouts, or in the detachments we should send out, or in facilitating the march, according to the necessity of the case, reserving them for such use as is made of dragoons in France.

On assembling our troops at Montreal, we received news of the arrival at Quebec, of M. D'Omblement,[1] with a King's ship called the *Arc-en-ciel*, which arrived from France in thirty three days, a thing unprecedented since the settlement of Canada. He brought us news of the reinforcement of eight hundred men, which was sent by the King, and remained in place of the *habitans*, whom we had drawn from their homes.

Notwithstanding the haste we made, our little army did not set out from *Ville-Marie*[2] in the island of Montreal, until the 13th day of June.

On the 14th, in the morning, we passed the rapids and the Saut St. Louis, and all the troops encamped, a part in the isle of *Perrot*, and a part at *Châtaugué*, where our christian savages awaited us.

The latter sung and danced the war dance all night, at a feast which was made for them by means of two lean

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[1] La Hontan writes this name "D'Amblemont," and says the passage was made from Rochelle in twenty-eight days.

[2] Ville-Marie is the ancient name bestowed upon Montreal by its founders. Charlevoix says it was used in his time in public acts, and that the *Lords-proprietaries* were exceedingly jealous of its retention.

cows, and some dozen dogs, roasted in their skins—which are the true enrolments for a vigorous prosecution of the war. We were obliged to rest on the fifteenth, by reason of very bad weather, storms and contrary winds, which prevailed all day, and prevented our passing in Lake, which is very dangerous.

We feared any increase of wind, on account of the two currents of two large rivers which meet there, and the existence of a great number of rocks and shoals.

On the morning of the 16th, our little fleet, composed of three hundred and fifty sail, appeared in a body upon the Lake, and favored by a fair wind and fine weather, reached the foot of the cascades,[1] where a portage of all luggage, munitions of war, and provisions became necessary.

It was there that our soldiers and Canadians, stripped to their shirts in the water, as deep in many places as their arm pits, worked like water dogs, drawing with cords or pushing with their shoulders, the batteaux and canoes, to overcome the rapidity of the stream. We found our Indians of great service on this occasion.

This day's work was severe on account of three difficult passages. The great vigor of our men surmounted all the impediments, the least of which would have appalled the stoutest heart in Europe; showing what man can accomplish when he undertakes an object.

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[1] These rapids or falls are situated at the upper end of the island of Perrot which lies opposite the mouth of the Utawas river.

This same day we passed the *Cascades*, *Le Trou*, and *Le Buisson*.[1] We encamped at evening in three different divisions, separate from each other. The first two battalions were at the foot of the rapids, called *Coteau des Cedres*,[2] the next two a little below, and the other four a little lower still.

On the 17th, our troops began their march at day-break, and the most we could accomplish was to pass the rapids of the *Coteau des Cedres* and those of the *Cedres*. Nearly all unloaded their boats at the former, but the remainder, more courageous, passed them very safely, without that trouble. We encamped half a league above the latter. This day's advance was only about two leagues, by reason of the length of the last rapid, which is nearly three-quarters of a league, and where it was necessary to pass all the boats and canoes in single order. We lost two batteaux in this difficult passage, which were swung around by the current and swamped, also two sacks of biscuit which got wet.

On the 18th we encamped a good quarter of a league from Lake St. Francis, after passing the *Coteau du Lac*, which is the most difficult rapid to surmount. We were obliged to make a portage of all the loading, and even of the greater part of the batteaux, aided by our good friends, the savages. We advanced three leagues this day.

On the 19th, we were able to proceed only three leagues, on account of a heavy rain and storm, which obliged us to

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[1] *Le Buisson*, or "*the fall of the thicket.*"

[2] *Coteau des Cedres.* These form the third rapid in ascending the river from Montreal, and are about nine miles above Le Buisson.

encamp on the borders of the above named Lake, at a place called *Pointe à Baudet*. The Sieur Perré arrived in the evening with four Iroquois, their women and two children, whom he had captured fifteen leagues below, at a place where I had sent him for that purpose.

Two of these Iroquois are the most influential of the nation of Goyogouens,[1] open enemies of the colony, and strongly attached to the Sonnontouans. One of them named *Orecouaté*, cruelly maltreated and persecuted the Reverend Father De Carcilt, when he was a missionary in their village, besides committing many robberies on him, and on many of our French and savage allies. They also charge upon him the expedition of the last year against the Hurons.

On the 20th, all the captives were sent to the prisons of Montreal, to join four other Iroquois who had been surprised in that neighborhood, whither they had gone as spies. In the mean time we set out from our camp, after a heavy rain, and accomplished the remaining traverse of the Lake, amounting to five leagues. The bad weather detained us the remainder of the day, and compelled us to encamp among the islands at the end of the Lake.

On the 21st, we encamped at the foot of the *Petits Chenaux*, a little below *Pointe Maligne*, and advanced only three leagues, being delayed by the severe storms which prevailed.

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[1] Cayugas.

On the 22d, we passed the rapids of *Petits Chesneaux* and of the *Long Saut*, except two battalions which were obliged to encamp at the foot of the latter. We were compelled to tow the batteaux for more than two leagues, and did not advance more than two leagues and a half.

I will say nothing of the difficulties we had to surmount in passing these rapids. They must be seen and passed in order to conceive their force. Many of our men were crippled there in their feet and legs. We had but three batteaux carried down by the current, which were safely brought to land, having escaped with only a few pails of water in them, some biscuit wet and guns lost. It cost the life of a poor soldier, who, being less expert than the rest, was drowned after surmounting all these rapids.

We were obliged on the 23d to remain in the same place, waiting for the two battalions which were unable to pass the *Long Saut* on the 22d. The day was employed in caulking the broken batteaux. We were unable to finish them by reason of the heavy and incessant rain, and of the great number which were injured. On this same day, two canoes, sent out to reconnoitre, brought an Iroquois savage, of some note among the Goiogouens, together with three women and two children. The man had been sent to watch our movements, and he informed us that *Orenuatié*, of whom we have already spoken, had descended to Montreal, with the intention of discovering what was passing among us, and of carrying off some French prisoners on his return. We found among his booty some cords

with which they are accustomed to bind their prisoners and which they do not carry, except on warlike excursions.

On the 24th, M. L'Intendant sent a canoe, to advise us that many Iroquois savages were fishing at the isle of *Otoniata*,[1] and also on the main land, south of, and opposite said island.

At twelve leagues below Catarocouy, I sent a detachment of a hundred savages, commanded by the Sieur de Ste Helene Le Moyne, to capture the said Iroquois. The heavy rain of the preceding day, not having permitted us to mend the leaky batteaux, we were unable to set out from our camp until noon. We were still obliged to leave behind us a part of our *habitans*, who were more accustomed to the navigation, to join us the next day under the command of M. de Callieres. We advanced this day only three leagues.

On the 25th we set out from the camp and passed the *Rapide Plat*, a little above which we encamped, having accomplished but three leagues and a half. These rapids occasioned the loss of a soldier who was drowned. In the evening we had news from Catarocouy, by a canoe sent by M. L'Intendant, that he had seized all the savages, to prevent them from carrying news of our march to the enemy, and that he had engaged the savages which were at *Otoniata*, to meet him at Catarocouy, where they would also

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[1] This island is about a mile and a half long, and 15 or 16 miles above La Galette, and is now called "*Tonihata*."

be seized. This same day, ten Algonquin savages, on hearing of our march, came to join us, being from the region of *Temiscamins*, towards the north, and told us that others would come with the same design. M. De Callieres could not join us this day, but arrived within half a league.

On the 26th we passed the rapids *Des Galots*, which are the last, and thenceforth we entered a more gentle current. After this, our navigation was much easier, because the soldiers were relieved from getting into the water, and we advanced by the aid of our oars and sails alone. We encamped a good league and a half above *Des Galots*, and gained this day four leagues.[1]

On the 27th, a severe and contrary wind from the southeast obliged us to remain, and we passed the day in refitting those batteaux which were found out of order. M. L'Intendant arrived at our camp, from Catarocouy, on his return, to give the necessary orders for the regulation of the colony. He informed us of the manner in which they had arrested all the Iroquois savages in the environs of the Fort, to the number of 120, thirty of whem were men, the rest being women and children. In the evening of the same day, to retrieve lost time, the wind being calm, we proceeded all night, and encamped eight leagues from where the rain commenced.

The 28th passed amid severe storms and continued rain during the whole day, which obliged us to remain.

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[1] This encampment was at or near the place subsequently called *La Galette*, and which was recommended by Charlevoix as a far preferable site for a fort than Catarocouy.

We set out on the 29th, early in the morning, with fine weather, and advanced nearly nine leagues. On reaching our camp, we had the pleasure of witnessing the arrival of the Reverend Father Lamberville, of the company of Jesus, missionary to the Onnontagués[1] whom I had sent for information, under pretence of bringing the most influential of the Iroquois to negotiate a settlement of our differences. On the last day of June, we arrived within half a league of Cataroouy, and I proceeded there the same day, to arrange every thing, and procure what provisions we should need until the end of August.

On arriving at the Fort, I thought proper to send to the village of the Onnontagués, the son and brother of a savage named *Hotrehouate*, one of the most distinguished and influential in the said village, from whom we had derived great assistance in checking the incursions which the Sonnontouans, and other Iroquois had made the year past, under the instigation of Colonel Dongan, Governor of New York. Father Lamberville used the influence of the above-named person, as well as that of his other friends, to counteract the ill designs of the said colonel.

The first day of July all our troops arrived at Cataroouy, where they occupied themselves in unloading whatever they had in the batteaux for the Fort, or for fitting out the three barks, one of which had already gone to carry provisions and ammunition to the Sieurs De La Durantaye and Du Lhu.[2] The two latter have had orders

[1] Onondagas.

[2] Charlevoix spells this name "Du Luth."

for a year past to repair here on the last of June, with all the French they could collect, who were in the forests on leave, for the beaver trade, and those of our savage allies, enemies of the Iroquois, whom they could induce to join them. The remainder of the day was passed in examining and replacing the provisions which had been damaged by the rain and other accidents incident to navigation, which we were unable to finish that day.

Being advised by the Sieur Perré, who had been sent in a party with some savages, that he had not force enough to seize and carry off all the Iroquois savages of Ganneious,[1] I sent thither a detachment of forty Canadians, in bark canoes, under the command of Captain Repentigny and Lieutenant Portneuf to hasten that expedition, with orders to return the next day, although Ganneious is ten leagues distant from Catarocouy, because I wished to set out on the third On this same day, the Sieur De La Forêt arrived at Catarocouy. He is a resident of Fort St. Louis, among the Illinois, where the Sieur de Tonty is in command. He informed me that he had come from Niagara by the way of the northern shore of Lake Ontario, although it is more than eighty leagues by that route. He brought me letters from the Sieur de Tonty, and from Messieurs De La Durantaye and Du Lhu, who had arrived at Niagara on the 27th of June, with about 180 of the most active men of the colony, and about 400 savages, and were waiting impatiently for news from me by the bark which I had prom-

[1] An Iroquois village on the north side of Lake Ontario, 8 or 10 leagues west of Catarocouy.

ised to send them, loaded with provisions and ammunition. This bark had left Catarocouy on Friday, the 26th of June, and favored by the north-east wind, should have arrived at Niagara on the 2d day of July.

The Sieur De La Forêt informed me that the Sieur De La Durantaye had seized thirty English who, escorted by some Iroquois, were on their way to trade at Missilimaquinak, as they did the past year, under the pretence that that post belonged to them; although we have held it for more than twenty-five years as the *entrepot* of all our commerce. Those thirty Englishmen were taken in Lake Huron, twenty leagues from Missilimaquinak, where they were deprived of their effects and made prisoners without any other injury, although it would have been lawful to have treated them more severely, as they were taken in arms with our enemies.[1] He further informed me, that the corps which were at Niagara, had met another party of thirty English, also escorted by savages hostile to us, who were likewise going to Missilimaquinak under the guidance of some French deserters. They were met by our people at the Strait of Lake Erie, near the Fort,[2] which we occupy there, and were treated like the others.

I directed the Sieur De La Forêt to return immediately, having charged him with the necessary orders for the junction of the said corps of French and Savages from Niagara, with ours at the rendezvous which I appointed near the

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[1] This party of Englishmen was commanded by Major Gregory.

[2] Fort *Pontchartrain*, on Detroit river, now the site of Detroit.

mouth of the river of the Sonnontouans,[1] but the wind being too violent, he could not set out until the evening of the next day, so that he went only two or three leagues.

The 2d day of July passed in distributing the provisions, and in repairing all the leaky batteaux, it being our intention to leave the next day. We arranged the two large batteaux for carrying in each a small cannon, some long guns, *Arquebuses à croc*,[2] and twenty men, with which to cover our landing when we should arrive in the enemy's country. We waited on the 3d for Perré, who, by reason of contrary and severe winds, had not been able to arrive on the 2d, as he had been directed. He arrived about 10 o'clock in the morning, with eighteen savage warriors and a multitude of women and children, making in all about eighty persons. The men were all confined in the Fort. The whole party numbered fifty-one able bodied men, and a hundred and fifty women and children.[3] Orders were

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[1] Irondequoit Bay.

[2] An arquebuse is an ancient fire arm, the barrel of which is very large and heavy.

[3] Some of the Iroquois who were thus treacherously seized by the French, were subsequently sent to France and confined in the galleys. This perfidious conduct on the part of the French towards those who had taken no part in the hostilities against them, contributed in no small degree to exasperate the Iroquois, and provoked the horrid cruelties they subsequently inflicted on the French, for nothing could be more degrading in their estimation, than to make them galley-slaves. Count Frontenac brought back the captives from France at the request of De Nonville, and endeavored to use their influence in establishing a peace with their nation, but without success.

given to embark in the afternoon of the same day, but the wind did not permit, so the remainder of the day was employed in loading the provisions, ammunition and implements into the two remaining barks, to send them to the general rendezvous near the Sonnontouans.

We embarked early in the morning of the 4th day of July, and took the route by the way of La Famine,[1] coasting along the south side of Lake Ontario. We made many traverses, favored by a calm which continued all day, and by which we happily profited. We advanced this day more than ten leagues, and encamped on an island named *Des Galots*, which we reached very opportunely, for hardly had our batteaux arrived, when a wind from the south-east arose with such violence, that we would have been obliged to land on the nearest shore, had it commenced sooner. It continued all night with such violence, that the waves compelled us to draw our batteaux upon land.

On the 5th the same wind continued all day, and constrained us to remain on said island. The next day, July 6th, the wind abated a little in the morning, but we could not undertake the traverse until one o'clock, at which time the wind suddenly ceased. We encamped a league from thence at a river named *Cataragarenre*.[2] While on our way our savages discovered the footprints of some fugitive

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[1] La Famine or Hungry Bay. So called from the scarcity of food which the French army experienced there in 1684, in the expedition under La Barre.

[2] Probably Sandy Creek, in Jefferson county.

Iroquois, whom they pursued without success. They left behind them some sacks of provisions, and their canoes.

We resumed our march on the morning of the 7th, and encamped a league and a half from the river Onnontagués.[1] The distance was ten leagues. We also perceived this day some men who were stationed to watch our march, but who escaped in the woods by the path which leads over land to Onnontagué lake.

On the 8th we advanced only five leagues, by reason of storms and severe winds. We encamped two leagues from Chroutons.[2]

On the 9th, we advanced only four leagues on account of the incessant rain and the difficulty of approaching the land. We encamped two leagues above Chroutons.

On arriving there we perceived at a distance the bark, which, after having landed provisions at Niagara, had come to advise us that the detachment of savage allies would leave Niagara on the 6th, with all the French, to reach the river of the Sonnontouans on the 10th, pursuant to the orders I had given. This same evening a savage of our company having wandered a little distance into the woods, was captured by three Iroquois scouts, who, having tied him, kept him prisoner a day and a night, without perceiving that he had a knife suspended from his neck, which by chance remained concealed on his back under

[1] Oswego river.

[2] Chroutons. It is difficult to identify this place; probably little Sodus bay.

his dress. The second night the prisoner did not fail to use the knife in cutting his bonds while his guards were fast asleep. He returned to our camp without any other injury than the blow of a tomahawk which they had struck very lightly on one of his shoulders.

On the 10th, we set out at daylight, in order to reach the rendezvous at *Ganniagatarontagouat*[1] the same day, although the wind was rather strong, the waves high, and the Lake rough. We made such fortunate progress, that just as we arrived at the above named *Marais*, having first examined it, in expectation of finding the enemy there, we perceived at a distance our French and savage allies who were coming under sail from Niagara. They arrived at

[1] This is now called Irondequoit bay, and is situated about four miles east of Genesee river. It is about five miles long and one mile wide. Various names have been applied to it by English writers, such as "Trondequat," "Rundegut," and "Gerundegut." Spafford in his Gazetteer says, the Iroquois name is Teoronto; pronounced "Tcheorontok," signifying the place where the waves breathe and die, or gasp and expire. This meaning is highly poetical, and were not truth of more importance, it would perhaps be ungracious to correct it. The true signification of the word is said to be a place where there is a *jam of floodwood!* The name is not Seneca but Mohawk. The Seneca name is "O-nyiū-dā-on-da-gwat," and means a bay or cove; literally a turning out or going aside of the lake; compounded of *Ga-nyiu-dseh*, lake, and *O-dā-geoh*, it turns out or goes aside. The name given by De Nonville is the same word in the Mohawk dialect. Gerundegut, or Irondequoit, is undoubtedly a corruption of the Seneca name above given by De Nonville. It is spelled "Andiataroataount," on the Jesuits' map, published in 1664, and "Ganientaraguat," on Vaugondy's map, published in Paris, A. D. 1753.

the same time with ourselves[1] at the embankment of said Lake, where we spent the rest of the day in seeking a position suitable for intrenchments, and capable of affording protection while we were gone over land in search of the enemy in their villages, the largest of which is distant only nine or ten leagues.

We passed the 11th in constructing palisades, fascines and pickets, for intrenching the dike which separates the Lake from the *Marais* in which we had placed our boats.

On the 12th at 3 o'clock, after having detached four hundred men[2] to garrison the redoubt, which we had already put in condition of defence for the protection of our provisions, batteaux and canoes, we set out with all our savage allies, who were loaded like ourselves with thirteen day's provisions, and took the path which leads by land through the woods to Gannagaro.[3] We advanced only

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[1] Colden and Smith erroneously state that the expedition of De Nonville left Cataraqouy in *two* divisions, one by the north side of Lake Ontario, and the other by the south side, both of which met at Irondequoit Bay. It clearly appears from De Nonville's narrative, that the party which he met at the mouth of the bay, was composed of French and Indians from the far west, who had sailed from their rendezvous at Niagara, to join the expedition pursuant to his orders.

[2] These men were left under the command of the Sieur D'Orvilliers. La Hontan's travels. Vol. I., p. 96 See appendix, No. II.

[3] When the Genesee country was first surveyed, in 1789, there was an old Indian trail or path leading from the outlet of Irondequoit Bay along its eastern side into the interior of the country. This is undoubtedly the path which the expedition pursued.

three leagues this day, among tall woods, sufficiently open[1] to allow us to march in three columns.

The next day, being the 13th, we left in the morning, with the design of approaching the village as near as we could, to deprive the enemy of the opportunity of rallying and seizing upon two difficult defiles upon two rivers, which it was necessary for us to pass, and where we should undoubtedly meet them. In the mean time we passed those two defiles unmolested, no one appearing but some scouts. There still remained a third defile, at the entrance to said village, at which it was our intention to halt, for the purpose of passing the night, and of resting our troops, who were much fatigued through the extraordinary and sultry heat of the weather, but our scouts having seen the trail of a considerable party which had been in the neighborhood of this defile, warned us to keep our troops together.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, a short time after we had resumed our march, M. de Callieres, who was at the head of the three companies commanded by Tonty, De La Durantaye and Du Lhu, and of all our savages, fell into an ambuscade of Sonnontouans, posted in the vicinity of the defile.

They were better received than they anticipated, and were thrown into such consternation, that the most of them threw away their guns and clothing, to escape under favor of the woods. The action was not long, but there was heavy firing on both sides.

[1] Their route lay through oak openings which abounded in that part of the Genesee country.

The three companies of Outaouaies,[1] who were stationed on the right, distinguished themselves, and all our Christian savages farther in the rear, performed their duty admirably, and firmly maintained the position which had been assigned to them on the left.

As we had in our front a dense wood, and a brook bordered with thickets, and had made no prisoners who could tell us positively the number of the enemy who attacked us; the severe fatigue of the march which our troops, as well the French as the savages, had undergone, left us in no condition to pursue the enemy. They had fled beyond where we had sufficient knowledge of the paths, to be certain which we should take, to lead us from the woods into the plain.

The enemy left twenty-seven dead on the field to our knowledge, who had been killed on the spot, besides a much larger number of wounded, judging from the traces of blood which we saw. We learned from one of the dying, that they had more than eight hundred men under arms, either in the action or in the village, and were daily expecting assistance from the neighboring Iroquois.

Our troops being very much fatigued, we rested the remainder of the day at the same place, where we found sufficient water for the night. We maintained a strict watch, waiting for day, in order to enter the plain, which is about a league in extent, before proceeding to the village.

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[1] Ottawas.

The Reverend Father Emabran,[1] missionary among the *Outaouas* savages whom he had brought to us, was wounded in the action. It cost us also the death of five *habitans*, a soldier, and five savage allies, besides six *habitans* and five soldiers wounded.

The next day, which was the 14th, a heavy rain that lasted until noon, compelled us to remain until that time at the place where the action occurred. We set out in battle array, thinking to find the enemy entrenched in the new village, which is above the old.

In the meantime we entered the plain, without seeing any thing but the relics of the fugitives. We found the old village burnt by the enemy, and the entrenchments of the new deserted, which were distant from the old about three-quarters of a league. We encamped on the height of the plain, and did nothing this day but protect ourselves from the severe rain, which continued until night.

On the 15th, the savages brought us two old men, whom the enemy had left in the woods in their retreat. Two or three women came to surrender themselves, and informed us that for the space of four days, all the old men, women and children had been fleeing in great haste, being able to carry with them only the best of their effects. Their flight was towards *Goiogouen*,[2] behind the Lakes.

[1] Both La Hontan and Charlevoix give the name of this Jesuit as "*Angelram*," which is undoubtedly correct, as the name is indistinctly written in the "*Paris Document*."

[2] The Canton of the Cayugas, which was situated in the vicinity of Cayuga Lake, about twenty-five miles from where the battle was fought.

They were sorely troubled for the means of subsistence, and one woman informed us they were obliged to kill the Oumiamis prisoners, which was the reason of her escape.

One of the old men who had been of note in the village, and was father or uncle of the chief, told us the ambuscade consisted of two hundred and twenty men, stationed on the hill side, to attack us in the rear, and five hundred and thirty in front. The two hundred and twenty men directed a part of their efforts against our rear battalions, where they did not expect such strong resistance, as those battalions drove them back more rapidly than they came.

In addition to the above, there were also three hundred men in their fort, situated on a very advantageous height, into which they all pretended to withdraw, having carried there a quantity of Indian corn. This same old man told us he had seen the enemy retire in great disorder and consternation. He informed us there were none but Sonnontouans; that two hundred Goiougouens were about to join them, and that they had sent to the Onnontagués, and other nations, to invite them to unite against us.

After we had obtained from this good man all the information he could impart, he was placed in the hands of the Reverend Father Bruyas,[1] who, finding he had

[1] Although the Senecas were visited by the Jesuits as early as 1657, no permanent mission was established among them until 1668, in which year Father Jacques Fremin, Superior of the Iroquois mission, arrived there on the first day of November. The chiefs received him with distinguished honors, and built a chapel for his use. He found them all disposed to receive his instruction, particularly some

some knowledge of the Christian religion, through the instrumentality of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, missionaries for twenty years in this village, he set about preparing him for baptism before returning him to the savages who had taken him prisoner. He was baptized, and a little while after, at our solicitation, they contented themselves with knocking him on the head with a tomahawk, instead of burning him according to their custom

Our first achievement this day, was to burn the fort of which we have spoken. It was eight hundred paces in circumference, well enough flanked, for savages, by an intrenchment advanced for the purpose of communication with a spring on the declivity of a hill, it being the only one where they could obtain water.

The remainder of the day was employed in destroying Indian corn, beans and other produce.

On the 16th we continued the devastation. Our runners brought us from time to time, the spoils of the fugitives, found scattered in the woods.

In the afternoon of the same day, we moved our camp to approach those places where there was corn to destroy. A party of our savages, about whom we had been anxious, arrived in the evening with considerable booty, which they

aged Hurons whom they held in captivity. Father Bruyas, the Jesuit mentioned in the text, was long a missionary among the Iroquois. We read of him among the Oneidas, in 1668, and find him subsequently engaged in important negotiations with the Onondagas. *Relation*, 1667-8, p. 83.

had captured in the great village of *Totiakton*, four leagues distant. They found that village also abandoned by the enemy, who, in retreating, had set it on fire, but there were only three or four cabins consumed.

On the 17th, we were also occupied in destroying the grain of the small village of Saint Michael, or *Gannogarae*, distant a short league from the large village, and continued it on the 18th, after having moved our camp in order to approach those fields which were concealed and scattered in the recesses of the forest.

On the night of the 19th, we had a slight alarm from a shot fired by a sentinel at an Illinois woman, a captive for nine years among the Sonnontouans,[1] and who had fled from the hands of the enemy. She escaped with only a wound in her thigh. She confirmed the report that the Sonnontouans, being much frightened, had fled to the Onnontagués and to the English.

She informed us there were forty men killed in their attack upon us, and fifty or more severely wounded. She added that all the old men, women and children, were dispersed in the woods on their way to the Goyogouens, but severely straightened for want of food, which they were unable to carry with them by reason of their sudden flight.

On the morning of the 19th, we moved our camp from near the village of St. James or *Gannagaro*, after having destroyed a great quantity of fine large corn, beans and

[1] A sanguinary war was waged for a long time between these widely separated nations. La Salle witnessed a battle between them near the Illinois river in 1679, in which the Iroquois were victorious.

other vegetables, of which there remained not a single field, and after having burned so large a quantity of old corn that I dare not tell the amount, and encamped before Totiakto, called the great village, or village of conception, distant four leagues from the former. We found there a still greater number of cultivated fields, with which to occupy ourselves for many days.

Three captives arrived this day, a young girl and two women of the Illinois nation. They told us that many prisoners of their nation had profited by the defeat of the Sonnontouans, to escape from their hands. They also confirmed what had already been told us, that the Sonnontouans had broken the heads of the most of their prisoners, and had passed beyond Goyogouen and taken refuge among the English.

On the 20th we occupied ourselves in cutting down and destroying the new corn, and in burning the old.

We went, on the 21st, to the small village of *Gannounata*, distant two leagues from the larger, where we caused the destruction the same day, of all the old and new corn, although the quantity was no less than in the other villages. It was at the entrance to this village, that we found the arms of England, which the Sieur Dongan, Governor of New York, had placed there contrary to all right and reason, in the year 1684, having ante-dated the arms as of the year 1683, although it is beyond question that we first discovered and took possession of that country, and for twenty consecutive years have had Fathers Fremin, Garnier, &c., as stationary missionaries in all their villages.

One would hardly credit the quantity of grain which we found in store in this place, and destroyed by fire.

This same day, a Huron of the Mission of St. Lorette, arrived alone with two scalps of a man and woman whom he had knocked on the head, having found them near the *Goyogouens*, where he had gone alone for that purpose. He told us he had noticed a multitude of paths by which the enemy had fled.

We left the above-named village on the 22d, to return to *Totiakto*, to continue there the devastation we had commenced. Notwithstanding the bad weather and incessant rain, we continued all day to make diligent preparation for our departure, which was the more urgent as the sickness increased among the soldiers, *habitans* and savages,[1] and our food and fresh provisions diminished rapidly. Besides which the impatience of the savages to return, with a great number of sick and wounded, gave us no hope of retaining them against their will, some having already left the preceding day without permission.

It was on this same day that four Iroquois of Montreal, stimulated by the example of the Huron of Lorette, who had brought away the two scalps, left without our knowledge to go in a party towards *Goyoguen*.

On the 23d, we sent a large detachment of almost all the army, under the command of M. de Callieres and of

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[1] Charlevoix states that this sickness was in part occasioned by the great number of hogs which were killed by the French army.

M. de Le Chevalier de Taudreuil, to complete the destruction of all the corn still standing in the distant woods.

About seven o'clock in the morning, seven Illinois, coming alone from their country to war against the Iroquois, arrived at the camp, stark naked, with bow in hand, at which those whom the Sieur de Tonty had brought to us were much rejoiced.

About noon of the same day, we finished destroying the Indian corn. We had the curiosity to estimate the whole quantity, green as well as ripe, which we have destroyed in the four villages of the *Sonnontouans*, and we found that it would amount to 350,000 minots[1] of green, and 50,000 minots of old corn, by which we can estimate the multitude of people in these four villages,[2] and the suffering they will experience from the devastation.

Having nothing further to accomplish in this country, and seeing no enemy, we left our camp in the afternoon of the same day, to rejoin our batteaux. We only advanced two leagues. On our way a Huron surprised a *Sonnontouan*, who appeared to be watching our march. He was killed on the spot, because he refused to follow us. I would have preferred to have had him brought along alive, in order to obtain from him some news of the enemy.

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[1] A minot is a French measure of three bushels, making the total amount of corn destroyed by the expedition, 1,200,000 bushels.

[2] In 1677, ten years prior to De Nonville's expedition, the Senecas lived in four towns, containing 324 houses.— *Wentworth Greenhalp's Journal.*

We reached our batteaux on the 24th, after traveling six leagues. We rested there the next day, in order to make arrangements for leaving on the 26th, after we should have destroyed the redoubt we had built.

We despatched on the 25th, the bark for Catarocouy, which we had found with the other two at *Ganniataronta-gouat*, to advise M. L'Intendant of the result of our Expedition, and by the same mode I sent back those of our camp who were suffering the most with sickness.

On the 26th we set out for Niagara, resolved to garrison that post as a protection for all our savage allies, and thus afford them the means of continuing, in small detachments, the war against the enemy, whom they have not been able to harass, being too distant from them and having no place of refuge.

Although it was only thirty leagues from *Ganniataronta-guat* to Niagara, we were unable to accomplish the distance in less than four days and a half, by reason of contrary winds, that is to say, we arrived there on the morning of the 30th. We immediately set about choosing a place, and collecting stakes for the construction of the Fort which I had resolved to build at the extremity of a tongue of land, between the river Niagara and Lake Ontario, on the Iroquois side.[1]

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[1] De Nonville's journal removes the doubt which has been entertained as to the location of this fortress, some having supposed it to have been first built at Lewiston. Bancroft's U. S., vol. III, p. 342. It occupied the site of the present fort on the angle formed by the junction of the Niagara with Lake Ontario. For the derivation of the word *Niagara*, see appendix No. III.

On the 31st of July and first of August, we continued this work, which was the more difficult, from there being no wood on the place suitable for making palisades, and from its being necessary to draw them up the height. We performed this labor so diligently, that the Fort was in a state of defence on the last mentioned day. We learned on this same day from a *Chuouanon*[1] deserter from the Sonnontouans, who was himself in the battle of the 13th July, that there were eight hundred Sonnontouans in ambuscade, of which six hundred were stationed at the rivulet we were obliged to pass, and who fired upon us, and two hundred were in a bottom for the purpose of attacking us in the rear. He assured us they had twenty killed on the spot by our fire, whom they buried,[2] in addition to the twenty-five which fell into our hands, and more than sixty mortally wounded. They considered this check so decisive, that we saw no more of them.

The 2d day of August, the militia having performed their allotted task, and the Fort being in a condition of defence in case of assault, they set out at noon, in order to reach the end of the lake on their return to their own country. On the morning of the third, being the next day, I embarked for the purpose of joining the militia, leaving the regular troops under the direction of M. de Vaudreuil, to finish what was the most essential, and to render the Fort, not only capable of defence, but also of

[1] Shawnese.

[2] It was an Indian custom to bury or conceal their slain companions during a battle, to prevent the enemy from taking their scalps.

being occupied by a detachment of a hundred soldiers, which are to winter there under the command of M. de Troyes,[1] a veteran officer, now captain of one of the companies stationed in this country. We advanced thirteen leagues this day, and encamped on the point at the end of the lake, where there is a traverse of four leagues from the southern to the northern shore.

On the morning of the 4th, fearing the day breeze, we embarked as soon as the moon rose, and accomplished the traverse of four leagues. We advanced fourteen leagues this day.

On the 5th the storm, wind and rain, prevented us from leaving in the morning, but at noon, the weather clearing up, we advanced seven or eight leagues, and encamped at a place to which I had sent forward our Christian savages from below. We found there two hundred deer which they had killed, a good share of which they gave to our army, which thus profited by the fortunate chase.

On the 6th, having a light favorable wind, we encamped two leagues below *Gannaraske*, a place where salmon is very abundant, and accomplished this day about fifteen

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[1] De Nonville left De Troyes with provisions and munitions for eight months. A sickness soon after broke out in the garrison, by which they nearly all perished, including their commander. The cause of the sickness was ascribed to the climate, but was probably owing to the unwholesome food with which they were provided. They were so closely besieged by the Iroquois that they were unable to supply themselves with fresh provisions. The fortress was soon after abandoned and destroyed, much to the regret of De Nonville.

leagues. We met on the same day the bark which was coming from Catarocouy, bringing provisions for the garrison we had left to winter at Niagara. On the 7th we advanced twelve good leagues and encamped two leagues below *Keuté*.

On the 8th, favored by a light wind from the south-west, we advanced fifteen good leagues, and encamped near the island of La Forêt.

On the 9th, notwithstanding a contrary wind, we advanced nine leagues, and arrived at Fort Catarocouy, where we remained the rest of that day and a part of the next, to give the necessary orders for the wintering of the garrison we have left there, composed of a hundred men under the command of M. D'Orvilliers. We set out from the Fort on the afternoon of the 10th, and encamped at point *A la Mort*, distant five leagues from Catarocouy.

On the 11th we advanced eighteen leagues, and encamped two leagues from La Galette.

On the 12th we passed a portion of the rapids much sooner than we ascended. We encamped at point *A Baudet* in Lake St. Francis.

On the 13th, we reached Montreal at an early hour, where we were impatiently expected, and what is surprising, without once having in all our voyage heard any news of our Iroquois enemies.

EXPLANATION OF THE MAP.

The names of the ancient and modern Indian villages within the bounds of the accompanying map, were furnished by Blacksmith, as mentioned in the introduction, and their exact localities were ascertained as near as possible. The original terms are descriptive of locality, or significant of some quality appertaining to the respective villages, but have nearly all been corrupted, or entirely changed by the white man.

In writing them down, Pickering's system of orthography has been in the main pursued; a, sounding like a in fall; ă, like a in hat; e, like e in they; i, like i in machine; o, like o in note; ŭ, like u in but. The horizontal mark above a vowel indicates a nasal sound. When t and h come together they must be sounded separately, as the h only adds a rough breathing to the t. The ! after the h denotes a sound similar to the close of the interjection oh! when repeated impatiently, approaching the sound of k, but not quite reaching it. It is almost impossible to represent the sounds of Indian words by the English alphabet. If, however, the sounds of the letters, as above indicated, are strictly observed, and the *accents* properly attended to, a near approximation to the correct pronunciation will be attained.

A. Sgōh′-sa-ĭs′-thah!. This is the Indian name of a great resort for fishing, which formerly existed on the Irondequoit Creek, a short distance above the head of the bay. The meaning of the word is, "*the swell dashes against the precipice,*" referring to the fact that a heavy swell sometimes beats against the ledge over which the falls pour.

B. Ga-o′-są̆-eh!-gă-ăăh. "*The bass wood bark used to lie there.*" A more particular notice of this word will be founded in the introduction.

C. Chi′-nos-hăh!′-gĕh. "*On the slope of the valley.*" In allusion

to the location of the village. The stream now called "Mud Creek," was formerly known by the same name among the Indians.

D. Ga'-non-dăă-gwăh'. "*A chosen town*," compounded of Ga-non-dah, "*town*," and Găă-gwăh, "*it was selected*." The lake was also known by the same name, now called, by corruption, Canandaigua.

E. Hah!'-nya-yăh!'. "*Where the finger lies*." This name is compounded of Hah'-nyah, "*his finger*," and gā-yăh, "*it lies there*," and originated from the following circumstance, handed down by Indian tradition. An Indian was picking strawberries near the foot of the Honeoye lake. A rattlesnake, coiled in the grass, bit the end of his finger. The Indian fearing the effects of the poison, cut off the wounded end with his tomahawk, and left it lying in the grass. The whites call the name Honeoye, which is much less musical than the original.

F. Sga'-nyiu-dais. "*Long Lake*," now called Scanitice.

G. Năh!'-daah!. "*Hemlock*," compounded of O-năh-dah, "*hemlock*," and ga-ah', "*it is upon*." Referring to the abundance of that tree which grew on the borders of the lake.

H. Gah!'-nyuh-sas. This name, according to Wm. Jones, takes its origin from an old scoop-net fishing ground, at the outlet of the lake. Blacksmith pronounces it Gah-neh'-sas, and says it is derived from the abundance of sheep-berries which formerly grew on the western borders of the lake. There was a village of the same name at the head of the lake.

J. Gah!-ă'-yăn-duk. Literally, "*there was a fort there*." This was an ancient Indian village situated on the top of an eminence. For a further description, see the introduction.

K. Ga-non'-da-eh!. "*A village on a hill*." It was located on the eastern bank of the Honeoye, near where the present mail road crosses that stream.

L. Sgă-hīs'-gă-ăăh!. Literally, "*It was a long creek*." There was an Indian village formerly located on the stream where Lima is now situated, and which bore this name.

M. Dyu-dō'ō-sòt. "*At the spring.*" This village, according to Blacksmith, was one of the four principal ancient villages of the Senecas, the other three having been located at B. C. & N.

N. De-yu'di-haak'-dōh. "*The bend.*" This ancient village was situated in a large bend of the Honeoye, north of the present village of West Mendon. A more particular description of its location may be found in the introduction.

O. Gah!-ni'-gah-dòt. "*The pestle stands there.*" This was a more modern village, and was situated at or near the site of East Avon.

P. Ga-no'-wa-găs. Literally, "*it has the smell of the scum.*" A fœtid substance which rises on the surface. Descriptive of the odor of the mineral springs near Avon.

R. Gah!-dă'-oh. "*Bluff.*" Now called Gardow. This place was for many years the residence of Mary Jemison, the white woman.

S. De-yu'-it-gă-oh. "*Where the valley widens.*"

T. Sho-nōh!'-jo-waah!-gōh. "*At Gen. Morris's.*" The general was called by this name, without the suffix gōh, which denotes locality. The place is now called Mount Morris. This, and the four villages last named, were comparatively modern.

APPENDIX.

NO. I.

The following copy of the Proces verbal of the act of possession of the territory of the Senecas by the French, was translated from the Paris Documents at Albany, Vol. III, p. 209. Taken in connection with De Nonville's narrative, it is a paper of much interest.

"Record of the taking possession of the country of the Iroquois, called Sonnontouant.

"On the 19th day of July, in the year 1687, the troops commanded by the Honorable René de Brisay, Chevalier, Seigneur Marquis of De Nonville and other places, Governor and Lieutenant General for the King in the whole extent of Canada, and country of New France, in presence of Hector, Chevalier de Calliere, Governor of Montreal in the said country, commanding the camp under his orders, and of Philip de Rigaud, Chevalier de Vaudreuil, commanding the troops of the King, which being drawn up in battle array, there appeared at the head of the army, Charles Aubert, Sieur de la Chenays, citizen of Quebec, deputed by the Honorable Jean Bochart, Chevalier, Seigneur de Champigny, Horoy, Verneuil and other places, Counsellor of the King in his councils, Intendant of Justice, Police and Finances in all Northern France, who asserted and declared, that at the requisition of the said Seigneur de Champigny, he did take possession of the village of Totiakton, as he had done of the other three villages named Gannagaro, Gannondata, and Gannongarae, and of a Fort distant half a league from the said village of Gannagaro, together with all the lands which are in their vicinity, however far they extend, conquered in the name of his Majesty; and as evidence thereof has planted in all the said villages and Forts, the arms of his said Majesty, and has proclaimed in a loud voice, '*vive le roi*,' after the said troops have vanquished and put to flight eight hundred Iroquois Tsonnontouans, and have laid waste, burnt and destroyed their provisions and cabins. And on account of the foregoing, the Sieur de la Chenays Aubert, has required evidence to be granted to him by me, Paul Dupuy, Esquire, Counsellor of the King, and his Attorney at the Court of the Provost of Quebec.

"Done at the said village of Totiakton, the largest village of the Tsonnontouans, in presence of the Reverend Father Vaillant, Jesuit, and of the officers of the regulars and militia, witnesses with me the said attorney of the King. Subscribed the day and year above mentioned, and signed in the original by Charles Aubert de la Chenays, J. René de Brisay, Monsieur De Nonville, Le Chevalier de Callière, Fleutelot de Romprey, de Desmeloizes, de Ramezay, Fran-

cois Vaillant of the Company of Jesus, de Grandeville, de Longueil, Saint Paul and Dupuy.

"Compared with the originial remaning in my hands, by me, the undersigned, Counsellor, Secretary of his Majesty, and Chief Register of the Sovereign Council at Quebec.

"Signed, PENURET."

NO. II.

Account of the Expedition of De Nonville as related by the Baron La Hontan in his "Travels in America." Translated from the French edition published a La Haye, in 1715.

"On the third day of July, 1687, we embarked from Fort Frontinac, to coast along the southern shore, under favor of the calms which prevail in that month, and at the same time the Sieur de la Forêt left for Niagara by the north side of the Lake, to wait there for a considerable reinforcement.

"By extraordinary good fortune we both arrived on the same day, and nearly the same hour, at the river of the Tsonnontouans, by reason of which our Savage allies, who draw predictions from the merest trifles, foretold with their usual superstition, that so punctual a meeting infallibly indicated the total destruction of the Iroquois. How they deceived themselves the sequel will show.

"The same evening on which we landed, we commenced drawing our canoes and batteaux upon land, and protected them by a strong guard. We afterwards set about constructing a fort of stakes, in which four hundred men were stationed, under the command of the Sieur Dorvilliers, to guard the boats and baggage.

"The next day a young Canadian, named *La Fontaine Marion*, was unjustly put to death. The following is his history. This poor unfortunate became acquainted with the country and savages of Canada by the numerous voyages he made over the continent, and

after having rendered his King good service, asked permission of several of the Governors General to continue his travels in further prosecution of his petty traffic, but he could never obtain it. He then determined to go to New England, as war did not then exist between the two Crowns. He was very well received, on account of his enterprise and acquaintance with nearly all the Indian languages. It was proposed that he should pilot through the lakes, those two companies of English which have since been captured. He agreed to do so, and was unfortunately taken with the rest.

"The injustice of which they were guilty, appears to me inexcusable, for we were at peace with the English, besides which they claim that the lakes of Canada belong to them.

"On the following day we set out for the great village of the Tsonnontouans, without any other provision than the ten biscuit which each man was compelled to carry for himself. We had but seven leagues to march, through immense forests of lofty trees and over a very level country. The *Coureurs de bois* formed the vanguard, with a part of the savages, the remainder of which brought up the rear—the regulars and militia being in the centre.

"The first day, our scouts marched in advance without making any discoveries. The distance which we accomplished was four leagues. On the second day the same scouts took the lead, and advanced even to the fields of the village, without perceiving any one, although they passed within pistol shot of five hundred Tsonnontouans lying on their bellies, who suffered them to pass and repass without interruption.

"On receiving their report we marched in great haste and little order, believing that as the Iroquois had fled, we could at least capture their women, children and old men. But when we arrived at the foot of the hill on which they lay in ambush, distant about a quarter of a league from the village, they began to utter their ordinary cries, followed with a discharge of musketry.

"If you had seen, sir, the disorder into which our militia and regulars were thrown, among the dense woods, you would agree with

me, that it would require many thousand Europeans to make head against these barbarians.

"Our battalions were immediately separated into platoons, which ran without order, pell mell, to the right and left, without knowing whither they went. Instead of firing upon the Iroquois, we fired upon each other. It was in vain to call '*help, soldiers of such a battalion,*' for we could scarcely see thirty paces. In short, we were so disordered, that the enemy were about to fall upon us, club in hand, when our savages having rallied, repulsed and pursued them so closely, even to their villages, that they killed more than eighty, the heads of which they brought away, not counting the wounded who escaped.

"We lost on this occasion ten savages and a hundred Frenchmen; we had twenty or twenty-two wounded, among whom was the good Father Angelram, the Jesuit, who was shot in those parts of which Origen wished to deprive himself, that he might instruct the fair sex with less scandal.

"When the savages brought the heads to M. De Nonville, they inquired why he halted instead of advancing. He replied that he could not leave his wounded, and to afford his surgeons time to care for them, he had thought proper to encamp. They proposed making litters to carry them to the village, which was near at hand. The general being unwilling to follow this advice, endeavored to make them listen to reason, but in place of hearing him, they reassembled, and having held a council among themselves, although they were more than ten different nations, they resolved to go alone in pursuit of the fugitives, of whom they expected to capture at least the women, children, and old men.

"When they were ready to march, M. De Nonville exhorted them not to leave him or depart from his camp, but rest for one day, and that the next day he would go and burn the villages of the enemy, and lay waste their fields, in consequence of which they would perish by famine. This offended them so much that the greater part returned to their country, saying that 'the French had come

for an excursion rather than to carry on war, since they would not profit by the finest opportunity in the world; that their ardor was like a sudden flash, extinguished as soon as kindled; that it seemed useless to have brought so many warriors from all parts to burn bark cabins, which could be rebuilt in four days; that the Tsonnontouans would care but little if their Indian corn was destroyed, since the other Iroquois nations had sufficient to afford them a part; that finally, after having joined the Governors of Canada to no purpose, they would never trust them in future, notwithstanding any promises they might make.'

"Some say that M. De Nonville should have gone farther, others think it was impossible for him to do better. I will not venture to decide between them. Those at the helm are often the most embarrassed. However, we marched the next day to the great village, carrying our wounded on litters, but found nothing but ashes, the Iroquois having taken the precaution to burn it themselves. We were occupied five or six days in cutting down Indian corn in the fields with our swords. From thence we passed to the two small villages of The-ga-ron-hies and Da-non-ea-ri-ta-oui, distant two or three leagues from the former, where we performed the same exploits, and then returned to the borders of the lake. We found in all these villages, horses, cattle, poultry and a multitude of swine. The country which we saw is the most beautiful, level, and charming in the world. The woods we traversed abounded in oak, walnut and wild chestnut trees."

NO. III.

DERIVATION OF "NIAGARA."

It appears that the orthography of this word was established as early as the time of De Nonville's expedition—it having been written by him as now spelt. Its derivation, having recently been a topic

of discussion in various quarters, is of sufficient interest to merit investigation.

Lakes Erie and Ontario, and the Strait by which they are connected, are laid down, but not named, on the map annexed to Champlain's voyages, published in 1613. A fall of water is indicated on the Strait, near Lake Ontario, and is there called "*Chute d'eau*," or waterfall. This is the earliest notice on record of the Falls of Niagara.

Father L'Allemant, in his relation of Brebeuf's visit in 1640, to the Neutral Nation, which was then in possession of both borders of the Niagara, calls the river, "*Onguiaahra*," and states that one of the villages of that nation was known by the same name. It is not probable that Brebeuf visited the cataract, as no mention is made of it in the narrative.

It is in this word, "*Onguiaahra*," that we undoubtedly have the germ of Niagara, and it is interesting to notice the changes and modifications which it has undergone.

It next appears as "*Ongiara*," on Sanson's Map of Canada, published in 1657, seventeen years after Brebeuf's visit, and is there applied to the *Falls*.

On Ducreux's latin map, attached to his *Histoirœ Canadensis*, published in 1660, the Falls are called "*Ongiara* Cataractes," or the Cataract of Niagara.

In 1687, we find De Nonville using the present orthography, and since that time, all *French* writers have uniformly written the word "Niagara." The English, on the other hand, were not uniform in spelling it, until about the middle of the last century.

The following are some of the changes which occur among different *English* writers:

1687, Oneagerah—London Documents, Albany, vol. III, p. 177.
" Onygara— do. do. do.
1747, Iagara—Colden's Five Nations, Appendix, p. 15.
" Onigara—do. do. do. p. 79.
1757, Ochniagara—Smith's History of New York, vol. I, p. 220.
1769, Ogniogorah—Knox's Historical Journal, vol. II, p. 139.

Onguiaahra and Ongiara are evidently identical, and present the same elements as Niagara. They are undoubtedly compounds of words expressive of some meaning, as is usual with aboriginal terms, but which meaning is now lost. The "o" which occurs in both the French and English orthography, is probably a neuter prefix, similar to what is used by the Senecas and Mohawks.

One writer contends that Niagara is derived from Nyah'-gaah', or as he writes it, "Ne-ah'-gah," said to be the name of a Seneca village which formerly existed on the Niagara River below Lewiston, and now applied by the Senecas to Lake Ontario.

This derivation, however, cannot be correct, for Onguiaahra, and its counterpart Ongiara, were in use as names of the river and falls, long before the Seneca village in question was in existence. The Neutral Nation, from whose language the words were taken, lived on *both* borders of the Niagara until they were exterminated by the Senecas in 1643.

It is far more probable that Nyah'-gaah', is a reappearance of Ongiara in the Seneca dialect, and this view is strengthened by the fact, that the former, unlike most Iroquois names, is without meaning, and as the aborigines do not confer arbitrary names, it is an evidence that it has been borrowed or derived from a foreign language

The conclusion then, is, that the French derived Niagara from Ongiara, and the Senecas, when they took possession of the territories of the Neutral Nation, adopted the name Ongiara, as near as the idiom of their language would allow, and hence their name Nyah'-gaah'.

THE FIRST VISIT OF DE LA SALLE TO THE SENECAS, MADE IN 1669.[1]

IN the city of Rouen, the ancient capital of Normandy, almost under the shadow of its renowned Cathedral, was born, on the 22d day of November, 1643, Robert Cavalier de La Salle.

Descended from an honorable parentage, he received, under the care of the Jesuits, all the advantages of a liberal education, and for a brief period was enrolled as a member of their Order.

When he left them on the death of his father, it was without fortune, for by his connection with their Society, he had forfeited all claim to the parental heritage.

With no resources save his indomitable energy and scientific accomplishments, and no apparent inducements except the love of adventure, and a desire to visit an elder brother then resident in Canada, he embarked for the New World in 1666, where he founded near Montreal, the village of "La Chine."

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[1] This paper was originally read before the Buffalo Historical Society, March 16, 1874.

Increased attention has within the last few years, been directed to his researches and explorations on this Continent.

The recent discovery of various manuscripts relating to his explorations along our Northern Lakes and Western Rivers as far as the Gulf of Mexico, has awakened a fresh interest in this subject. A large mass of new material is now in the possession of Mr. Pierre Margry, of Paris, for the publication of which $10.000 has recently been appropriated by an Act of our Congress, procured by the joint efforts of some of the most eminent of our American historians, aided by our own and other Historical Societies.

While on a recent visit to Paris, I was enabled, through the courtesy of Mr. Margry, to examine his rare collections, and can testify to their value and importance.

The proposed publication will embrace several volumes of original material.

Three will be devoted to the discoveries and explorations of La Salle, and one to each of the following subjects:

The Pioneers of the Mississippi.

Le Moyne D'Iberville, First Royal Governor of Louisiana.

Le Moyne de Bienville, Second Royal Governor of Louisiana.

Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, Third Royal Governor of Louisiana.

The Chain of Western Posts, and

The Indians. Making in all ten volumes.

They will be issued under a contract, which has been concluded between Mr. Margry and the Joint Library Committee of Congress. The first volume is nearly ready for the press, and will be looked for with much interest by students of American history.

Mr. Margry has been engaged, for many years, in collecting the material for this publication, his official connection with the Department of the *Ministere de la Marine*, in Paris, having afforded him special facilities, for the undertaking.

Among his collections, I found an unpublished manuscript journal, copied from the original in the Bibliotheque Nationale, in Paris, giving an account of an expedition undertaken by La Salle and two Sulpician Missionaries into the country of the Senecas, more than 200 years ago.

As one of the special objects of this Society is the discovery and preservation of historical material relating to the settlement of Western New York, whether confined to the pioneer enterprises of the whites, or embracing their first intercourse and transactions with the Indians, I willingly accepted the friendly offer of Mr. Margry, to furnish the extract from the journal in question, a translation of which I beg leave to introduce to your attention this evening, as the basis of my present paper.

Aside from its intrinsic interest, it seemed to be of sufficient historical importance to entitle it to a place among our archives.

It describes the first visit of La Salle to Western New York, made in 1669, before he had acquired the renown which his subsequent adventures and explorations affixed to his name. The people he visited were our early neighbors. They met him in council, spoke the same peculiar language we have so often heard in our streets, and exhibited many of the customs and manners which even now prevail among their descendants.

The map annexed to the journal, forms an interesting illustration of the knowledge acquired by the party, of the form and size of the North American Lakes during their long pioneer voyage from Montreal to the Sault Ste Marie. The copy which I obtained is a *fac simile* of the original, and measures 4½ feet in length, by 2½ feet in breadth. It is covered with the annotations of Galinee, mostly inverted, so as to be read only from the north side, owing to his stand point being, when he drew it, on the Canadian side of the Great Lakes, looking towards the south. It has never yet been published, but will undoubtedly be reproduced among Mr. Margry's papers.

The missionaries attached to the expedition, were Francois Dollier de Casson, and Rene de Brehart de Galinee, both attached to the Order of St. Sulpice. The former had been a cavalry officer under Marshal Turenne. At the date of this expedition, he was about 40 years old, and Superior of the Seminary belonging to his Order at Montreal. He was a man of commanding presence and tried courage, of which he had given proofs in the campaign of Governor Courcelles against the Mohawks in 1666.

His strength was so prodigious, that he was said to be able to carry two men, sitting, one in each hand.

Galinee, the historian of the enterprise, was skilled in the Algonquin tongue, and had no little reputation as a surveyor and astronomer. He could construct a chart of his travels through the wilderness, so as to be able to retrace his way.

Both priests were ardent and zealous for the conversion of the North American Indians to the Roman faith, and had long been waiting for some favorable opportunity, to penetrate, for that purpose, the vast and as yet unexplored regions of the West.

De La Salle, then 36 years old, had resided in Canada about three years, and the opportunities he had enjoyed for intercourse with the Iroquois and other western tribes, who were accustomed to visit Montreal for the purposes of trade, had not been neglected. From them he had heard of the Ohio, the Mississippi,[1] and of the boundless forests and prairies through which they flowed, teeming with game and the fur bearing animals. They had told him of the vast lakes, as yet unnavigated save by their frail canoes, on the borders of which were inexhaustible mines, yielding the richest ores of iron and copper.

His imagination kindled at the recital, and so great was his ambition to accomplish his favorite object, that he sold

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[1] The Mississippi was alluded to *by name* in the Jesuit relations as early as 1670. Its outlet was then supposed to be in the "Florida Sea." Relation 1670–1, pp. 93, 144 and 175.

the possessions he had acquired in Canada, to realize the means for defraying the expenses of an expedition to test the truth of the Indian narrations.

Encouraged by the patronage of Courcelles the Governor, and Talon the Intendant of Canada, who were lavish of all except pecuniary aid, he resolved to ascend the St. Lawrence, and passing through the chain of Western Lakes, to seek for the great river, that, having its source in the Iroquois country, flowed, according to Indian authority, into a far distant sea, and which Champlain and L'Escarbot had confidently hoped might be the westerly road to China and Japan.

In the summer of 1669, La Salle organized, with the two Sulpicians, a joint expedition to accomplish their several purposes—the former to prosecute his discoveries in the West, and the missionaries to baptize into the Roman faith, the neophytes that they should secure among the sedentary and nomad tribes found in the valleys of the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Lakes.

When every thing was ready for a speedy departure, the unfortunate assassination of an Iroquois chief by three French soldiers at Montreal, detained them fifteen days, and threatened a renewal of the war which had just then, happily terminated. The execution of the guilty soldiers expiated their crime, and propitiated the offended Iroquois. All fear of reprisals being allayed, the party left La Chine[1]

[1] So called, perhaps in derision, from its being their supposed starting point for China. Paul Le Jeune, Superior of the Jesuit missions in Canada, in a letter from Quebec, dated Sept. 10th, 1640,

on the 6th day of July—La Salle with 15 men in four canoes, and De Casson and Galinee, with seven men in three canoes, escorted by two other canoes containing a party of Senecas who had been the guests of La Salle in Montreal, during the preceding winter. They ascended the St. Lawrence, threading the intricate channels formed by the Thousand islands, carrying their canoes and effects around the numerous and difficult portages they met on the way, and at length, after 27 days of incessant toil, in which they suffered severely from disease and exposure, they reached the broad expanse of Lake Ontario. Coasting along its southern shore, they landed on the 10th day of August, at the mouth of Irondequoit Bay, four miles east of the Genesee river. This bay was, in early times, the principal route by which the Senecas were accustomed to pass between their villages and the lake. There was a portage from the head of the bay, across to the Genesee river, striking the latter above the falls at Rochester,

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gives a curious account of an attempt on the part of an Englishman, accompanied by a single servant and a party of Abenaki Indians, to cross the American continent in search of a north-west passage to the sea. He arrived at Quebec on the 24th day of June, 1640. The Governor compelled him to return to England. Relation, 1639–40, p. 135.

It was the favorite belief of the early travelers in America, that an overland route to China was practicable. 1. Le Clercq Etablissement de la Foi, p. 195.

Father Vimont says that the Jesuit "Raymbault designed to go to China across the American wilderness, *but God sent him on the road to heaven.*" He died at the Saut de Ste. Marie, in 1641. Relation, 1642–3, p. 271.

which afforded a much shorter and more convenient route to the upper waters of the Genesee, and to the sources of the Ohio, than by ascending the channel through its mouth.

The bay is first noticed on the map annexed to the Jesuit Relation published in 1666, and is frequently alluded to in subsequent narratives of early western exploration. A fort was built by the French on the sandy bar at its mouth, soon after the commencement of the last century, and appropriately called "Fort des Sables." It does not appear to have been permanently garrisoned, its site being, for a long time, debatable ground between the French and the English. The latter obtained a deed from the Senecas in 1741, of a parallelogram bounding on the lake, embracing within its limits the whole of the bay, and extending inland to the depth of thirty miles. De Nonville landed in the bay, and constructed on its shore a defensive work for the protection of his boats, when on his celebrated expedition against the Senecas in 1687.[1]

At the date of La Salle's visit, the whole of the present State of New York, was a dense and unbroken wilderness, its soil untilled by the white man, and its forest recesses

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[1] The Seneca name of this bay, corrupted by the English into "Irondequoit" and "Gerundegut," furnishes an interesting illustration of the Indian custom of bestowing significant names upon prominent localities. They call it "O-nyiu-da-on-da-gwat," the word being compounded of "Ga-nyiu-da-eh," lake, and "O-da-gwah," it turns aside. Literally, "the lake turns aside," or forms a bay, an etymological compound, analogous to the English term "in-let."

unexplored, save by the Jesuits in their missionary enterprises, and the French and Dutch, from Montreal and Fort Orange, in their prosecution of the fur trade. The Iroquois tribes were of a sedentary character, and the alluvial bottoms within the neighborhood and protection of their villages, yielded to their rude cultivation, rich returns of maize, beans, squashes and melons, furnishing ample food for their subsistence.[1]

Their villages, four in number, were all east of the Genesee River. The largest called *Ga-o-su-eh-ga-aah*, occupied what has since been known as Boughton Hill, in Ontario County, just south of Victor Station, on the Central Railroad, and midway between Rochester and Canandaigua. The second in importance, *De-yu-di-haak-doh*, was in a large bend of the Honeoye outlet, in Livingston County, about ten miles south of Rochester. The third, *Chi-nos-hah-geh*, was nearly four miles south-east of Victor, and the fourth, *De-o-dom-sot*, five miles south-east of Avon Springs, at the source of the little Conesus Creek. These four villages formed, as it were, the angles of a nearly right angled parallelogram, the two nearest Lake Ontario being about 18 miles southerly therefrom. The corresponding

[1] The Swedish naturalist Kalm, who traveled extensively in North America in 1748–9, says, that "maize, kidney beans, pumpions, squashes, gourds, watermelons and muskmelons were cultivated by the Indians long before the arrival of Europeans." Kalm's Travels, vol III., p. 295. Possibly the seeds of some of these fruits were introduced among the natives by the Jesuits, early in the 17th century, and being found by subsequent travelers, were supposed by them to be indigenous.

Mohawk names of these four villages, as written by Denonville, were Gannagaro, Totiakto, Gannogarae and Gannounata.[1]

The earliest recorded visit made to these villages by the white man, was that of Father Chaumonot, in the latter part of 1656, thirteen years before the expedition of La Salle.[2]

It did not result in any permanent mission among the Senecas, as he remained but a short time in their country. The wars then raging between the Iroquois and their savage neighbors, were wholly incompatible with missionary enterprises.

It was not until the year 1667, that the Jesuits made permanent arrangements for the culture of this new and remote field. In July of that year, Fathers Fremin, Pierron and Bruyas, left Quebec for the Iroquois country. They were detained on their way for more than a month at Fort St. Anne, on the outlet of Lake Champlain, through fear of the Mohegans, then on a raid against the

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[1] See an account of the location of these villages and of their identification by the author, in the previous article beginning at page 123.

[2] Some American historians are of the opinion that Champlain, in his expedition against the Iroquois in 1615, laid siege to a Seneca village then situated on the west side of Canandaigua Lake. Doc. History of N. Y., Vol. III., p. 10. Champlain's works, Quebec edition, p. 528. It appears to the author, on a careful examination of Champlain's journal and map, that he came no further west than Onondaga Lake. See N. Y. Historical Proceedings, 1849, p. 96.

Mohawks. Their alarm having subsided, they left the fort on the 23d of August, and arrived at "Gan-da-oua-ge," a Mohawk village which had witnessed the labors and death of the Jesuit martyr Jogues, twenty-one years before. Here Fremin and Pierron now established themselves in their missionary work. Father Bruyas passed on to Oneida, where he arrived in September, and was soon after joined by Garnier.

But another field farther west was calling for laborers, and Garnier, in obedience to the summons, left for the Central Canton of the Onondagas, where he was joined by two new recruits, Millet[1] and Carheil, in October of the following year.

Leaving Millet at Onondaga, Carheil proceeded westward to Cayuga, where he arrived in November, 1668, and remained in missionary work for several years, but was finally driven out through the influence of the haughty "O-re-oua-he," otherwise called "La Grand Guele." He spent sixty years of missionary life among the Indians, and died in Quebec in 1726.

Missions having thus been established in the four eastern Cantons of the Iroquois, the Senecas, the most populous

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[1] Millet continued at Onondaga until 1671. He was then transferred to Oneida, where he remained until 1684, when he returned to Canada. He was taken prisoner near Fort Frontenac by the Oneidas in 1689, but his life was saved through his adoption by a squaw. He finally succeeded in obtaining his release, and returned to Quebec in 1694. Father Charlevoix saw him in 1722, and speaks of him in terms of the highest consideration.

and warlike of the confederacy, desirous of sharing in the same religious advantages, sent a deputation of their most influential chiefs to Montreal in November, 1668, asking the Jesuits to send missionaries to their villages.

The request was promptly granted, for when was such an appeal ever made to a Jesuit in vain? They selected Father Fremin, who had now spent a year among the Mohawks, for the new mission, and he was soon on his way to the country of the fierce and haughty Senecas, leaving Pierron to continue, single handed, the former mission. He arrived at "Tsonnontouan" on the first day of November, 1668, in the midst of a raging epidemic, which was so destructive, that he was obliged to summon Father Garnier from Onondaga to his aid.

Fremin chose for his residence the village of Gan-dougarae,[1] situated on the banks of a stream now known as Mill Creek, nearly four miles south-east of Victor, a site which until quite recently bore many evidences of former Indian occupancy. He there founded the mission of St. Michael, in which he continued to labor until 1671.

Garnier located at the village called by the Mohawks Gandachsiragon, described on page 141 as *Sonnontouan-panal* in Seneca, situated on what is now known as Boughton Hill, where he remained until 1669. Hennepin saw him there in 1678, and the legend states that, unacquainted with the Seneca tongue, De La Salle, by permission, so

[1] This was the general name of the Seneca villages. See Appendix.

See page 141 [illegible] gave

build a fort or storehouse on the Niagara, and a vessel above the Falls.

These missions being thus fully established, Father Fremin, as Superior, called a general council of all the Jesuits laboring in them, to meet at Onondaga for consultation as to the best means for promoting their missionary work, or, in the language of Father Bruyas, "for advancing the salvation of souls, the glory of God and the Iroquois Missions."

They assembled on the 29th day of August, 1669, in full council. Fremin left the Seneca Mission of St. Michael to attend the convocation on the tenth day of the same month, *the very day* that the expedition, under La Salle and the two Sulpicians, landed at Irondequoit Bay, as before stated, on their way to Gannagaro, or St. James, on Boughton Hill.[1]

The avowed object of La Salle and his companions, in visiting the Senecas, was to obtain a guide competent to conduct them through the unknown wilderness that lay between their villages and the sources of the Ohio. The unfortunate absence of Fremin and Garnier at the Onondaga Council during all the time of their visit, was undoubtedly the principal cause of the failure of the expedition, as they were the only individuals who had a knowledge of the Indian language, sufficient to enable them to interpret between the French and the Senecas. There is good reason for the belief that they were absent

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[1] Jesuit Relation, 1670, p. 74, Canada edition.

by design. La Salle had formerly been a member of their Order, but had resigned before he came to America, its rigid discipline and ascetic vows not harmonizing with his restless ambition and love of adventure.

Although he was engaged for twenty years in western explorations, frequently meeting the Jesuits in his travels and visiting them in their missions, there is not, in all the twenty volumes of their Relations published during that period, a single allusion to his name or to any of his discoveries. While the *Griffon* was building at the mouth of the Cayuga Creek, La Salle was traversing the Niagara and the borders of Lake Ontario, holding councils with the Senecas in the villages in which the Jesuits were established, yet they omitted to record in their writings, the slightest notice of his presence or reference to his enterprises. There can be no satisfactory explanation of all this, except the jealousy entertained by the Order, of one who had withdrawn from their communion, and boldly undertaken an independent part in the exploration and development of a country which they had appropriated as their own peculiar field of labor.

There also existed no little jealousy between the Jesuits and the Sulpicians, which undoubtedly had its influence in preventing the success of any enterprise in which the latter were engaged.

The time chosen by La Salle and his companions was deemed favorable for their visit to the Senecas, the French and Iroquois being now at peace, and the Jesuits estab-

lished in fixed missions, in all the Cantons of the Five Nations, as before stated.

These preliminary remarks, embracing a few personal sketches of the leaders of the expedition, and characteristics of the Indians they encountered, some notices of the country into which they so boldly entered, and of the missions which had already been established, are deemed pertinent, as an introduction to the Journal of Galinee.

In the translation which follows, I have adhered as closely to the original as the obscure and antiquated French in which it is written would admit.

Extract from the Journal of Galinee.

After thirty-five days of very difficult navigation, we arrived at a small river called by the Indians "Karontagouat,"[1] which is the nearest point on the lake to "Sonnontouan," and about one hundred leagues south-west of Montreal. I took the latitude of this place on the 26th of August, 1669, with my Jacobstaff.[2] As I had a very fine horizon on the north, no land, but the open lake, being visible in that direction, I took the altitude on that side as being the least liable to error.

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[1] The Mohawk name for Irondequoit Bay.

[2] A Jacobstaff was a rude graduated instrument with movable indexes, used before the invention of the quadrant by Hadley.

I found the sun to be distant 33° from the zenith, to which I added 10° 12′ for its north declination on that day. The equinoctial was found to be distant from the zenith, and consequently the Arctic Pole elevated above the horizon at this place, 43° 12′, which is its true latitude, and agrees quite well with the latitude which I found in estimating the points of compass we had run over, agreeably to the usage of sailors, who are never without knowledge of their position, although destitute of an instrument with which to take an observation.

We had no sooner arrived in this place than we were visited by a number of Indians, who came to make us small presents of Indian corn, pumpkins, blackberries and whortleberries, fruits of which they had an abundance. We made presents in return, of knives, awls, needles, glass beads and other articles which they prize, and with which we were well provided.

Our guides urged us to remain in this place until the next day, as the chiefs would not fail to come in the evening with provisions to escort us to the village.

In fact night had no sooner come, than a large troop of Indians, with a number of women loaded with provisions, arrived and encamped near by, and made for us bread of Indian corn and fruits.[1] They did not desire to speak to us in regular council, but told us we were expected in the village, to every cabin of which word had been sent, to

[1] The Indians dry fruit in the sun and put it in their bread, cooking it in the ashes. Sagard voyage, p. 327.

gather all the old men at a council which would be held for the purpose of ascertaining the object of our visit.

M. Dollier, M. de La Salle and myself, consulted together, in order to determine in what manner we should act, what we should offer for presents, and how we should give them. It was agreed that I should go to the village with M. de La Salle, for the purpose of obtaining a captive taken from the nation which we desired to visit, who could conduct us thither, and that we should take with us eight of our Frenchmen, the rest to remain with M. Dollier in charge of the canoes. This plan was carried out, and the next day, August 12th, had no sooner dawned, than we were notified by the Indians that it was time to set out. We started with ten Frenchmen and forty or fifty Indians, who compelled us to rest every league, fearing we would be too much fatigued.

About half way we found another company of Indians who had come to meet us. They made us presents of provisions and accompanied us to the village.

When we were within about a league of the latter, the halts were more frequent, and our company increased more and more, until we finally came in sight of the great village, which is in a large plain, about two leagues in circumference. In order to reach it we had to ascend a small hill,[1] on the edge of which the village is situated.

As soon as we had mounted the hill, we saw a large company of old men seated on the grass, waiting for us.

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[1] Now Boughton Hill.

They had left a convenient place in front, in which they invited us to sit down.

This we did, and at the same time an old man, nearly blind, and so infirm that he could hardly support himself, arose, and in a very animated tone, delivered a speech, in which he declared his joy at our arrival, that we must consider the Senecas as our brothers, that they would regard us as theirs, and in that relation they invited us to enter their village, where they had prepared a cabin for us until we were ready to disclose our purpose. We thanked them for their civilities, and told them through our interpreter, that we would, on the next day, declare to them the object of our expedition. This done, an Indian, who officiated as master of ceremonies, came to conduct us to our lodgings.

We followed him, and he led us to the largest cabin of the village, which they had prepared for our residence, giving orders to the women belonging to it not to let us want for anything. In truth they were at all times very faithful during our sojourn, in preparing our food and in bringing the wood necessary to afford us light at night.

This village, like all those of the Indians, is nothing but a collection of cabins, surrounded with palisades twelve or thirteen feet high, bound together at the top, and supported at the base, behind the palisades, by large masses of wood of the height of a man. The curtains are not otherwise flanked, but form a simple enclosure, perfectly square, so that these forts are not any protection. Besides this, the precaution is seldom taken to place them on the

bank of a stream, or near a spring, but on some hill, where, ordinarily, they are quite distant from water.

On the evening of the 12th we saw all the chiefs of the other villages arrive, so as to be in readiness for the council which was to be held the next day.

The Seneca Nation is the most populous of all the Iroquois. It comprises four villages, of which two embrace about 100 cabins each, and the other two about 30 each, containing in all perhaps 1,000 or 1,200 men, capable of bearing arms. The two larger are about six or seven leagues apart, and each six or seven leagues from the shore of the lake.[1] The land between the lake and the easternmost of the larger villages to which I went, consists for the most part of fine large meadows, in which the grass is as tall as myself, and in places where there are woods, the oaks predominate. They are so scattered that one can easily ride among them on horseback. We were told that this open country extends towards the east more than one hundred leagues, and towards the west and south to an unknown distance, especially towards the south, where prairies are found without a tree for upwards of one hundred leagues. The Indians who have visited those localities say they produce very good fruit and Indian corn extremely fine.

At length, the 13th of August having arrived, the Indians assembled in our cabin, to the number of fifty or sixty of the principal men of the Nation. Their custom on entering is to appropriate the most convenient places

[1] See page 196, note 1.

which they find vacant, without reference to rank, and immediately to take some fire to light their pipes,[1] which never leave their mouths during the entire sitting of the council. They say that good thoughts are produced by smoking.

When the assembly had become sufficiently numerous, we began to speak of business, and it was then M. de La Salle confessed he was unable to make himself understood. On the other hand my interpreter said that he did not know enough of French to convey his meaning to us. So we deemed it more advisable to employ the servant of Father Fremin to speak in our behalf and to interpret what the Indians should reply, and it was so done.

It must be stated that Father Fremin was not then at his post, but had gone a few days previous to Onondaga, to attend a meeting which was to be held there of all the Jesuits scattered among the Five Nations. There was therefore no one but the servant of Father Fremin, who could serve as our interpreter.[2]

Our first present was a pistol with two barrels, worth sixty francs, and the message with which we accompanied the present, was, that we regarded them as our brothers, and as such were so strong in their interest, that we made them a present of said pistol with two barrels, so that with one shot they could destroy the Wolf Nation (Loups), and

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[1] The Indians, while attending a council, always light their pipes at the fire which is kept burning while the session lasts.

[2] See page 199.

with the other the Andostoues, being two nations against which they wage a cruel war.[1]

The second present, of six kettles, six hatchets, four dozen knives and five or six pounds of large glass beads, declared to them that we had come on the part of Onontio[2] (it is thus they call the Governor), to establish peace.

The third and last present, of two coats, four kettles, six hatchets and some glass beads, declared that we had come on the part of Onontio, to see the people called by them "Toagenha,"[3] living on the river Ohio, and that we asked from them a captive of that country, to conduct us thither. They considered it was necessary to think over our proposition, so they waited until the next day, before giving their answer. These people have a custom never to speak of any business without making some present to serve as a reminder of the words which they utter.

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[1] The Loups or Wolf Nation were the Mohegans. The Andastes were almost exterminated by the Iroquois in 1672. The survivors were adopted, chiefly by the Senecas. Relation 1667, Quebec edition, p. 28. II Charlevoix, p. 244.

[2] The signification of *Onontio* is *great mountain*, being a translation into Iroquois of the name of the second governor of Canada, the Chevalier *Montmagny*. The Indians always applied the same name to his successors in office. Jesuit Relation, 1640–1, p. 77.

[3] The name *Otoagannha* signifies, "a people speaking a corrupt Algonquin." The nation is described as living in a warm and fertile country, on a river, which either empties into the Gulf of Mexico or the Vermillion Sea. Relation, 1661–2, p. 9. This must refer to the Ohio, not then discovered by the French.

Early the next morning, they all came back, and the most distinguished chief among them presented a belt of wampum, to assure us that we were welcome among our brothers. The second present was another belt of wampum, to assure us that they were firmly resolved to maintain peace with the French, and that their nation had never made war upon the French, and did not desire to begin it in a time of peace. For the third present, they said they would give us a captive as we had requested, but they desired to wait until the young men had returned from trading with the Dutch, to whom they had carried all their captives, and then they would not fail to give us one. We asked them not to detain us more than eight days, because of the advancing season. This they promised, and each one withdrew to his own cabin.

In the meantime they entertained us as well as they could, and rivaled each other in feasting us according to the custom of the country. But I assure you I was many times more desirous of rendering up what I had in my stomach, than of taking into it any thing new. The principal food in this village, where they rarely have fresh meat, is the dog, the hair of which they singe over coals. After having thoroughly scraped the carcass, they cut it in pieces and place it in a kettle. When cooked, they serve you with a piece weighing three or four pounds, in a wooden dish, which has never been cleaned with any other dishcloth than the fingers of the mistress of the house, which have left their impress in the grease that always covers their vessels to the thickness of a silver crown.

Another of their favorite dishes is Indian meal, cooked in water, and served in a wooden bowl, with a small portion of tournesol, nut or bear's oil.[1]

There was not a child in the village but was eager to bring us, sometimes stalks of Indian corn and oftentimes pumpkins, besides other small fruits which they gather in the woods.

We thus consumed the time, for eight or ten days, waiting until the party should return from their trading, to give us a captive.

It was during this interval, that, in order to pass away the time, I went with M. de La Salle, under the escort of two Indians, about four leagues south of the village where we were staying, to see a very extraordinary spring. Issuing from a moderately high rock, it forms a small brook. The water is very clear but has a bad odor, like that of the mineral marshes of Paris, when the mud on the bottom is stirred with the foot. I applied a torch and the water immediately took fire and burned like brandy, and was not extinguished until it rained. This flame is among the Indians a sign of abundance or sterility according as it exhibits the contrary qualities. There is no appearance of sulpher, saltpetre or any other combustible material. The water has not even any taste, and I can

[1] The Jesuit Le Mercier says in the Relation for 1657, p. 33, Quebec edition, that the Indians extract oil from the Tournesol, by means of ashes, the mill, fire and water. The Tournesol referred to is probably the common sun-flower, which is indigenous to the warmer parts of North America.

neither offer nor imagine any better explanation, than that it acquires this combustible property by passing over some aluminous land.[1]

It was during this interval that they brought some

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[1] The spring above described was undoubtedly what is known in this region as a "burning spring," many of which abound in Western New York.

Being desirous of ascertaining if one still existed in the direction and at the distance from the Seneca village indicated in the narrative, I found, on consulting a map of Ontario county, that a village named "Bristol Centre," was at the exact point. On addressing a note of inquiry to a gentlemen residing there, he answered as follows:

"There are in this town burning springs, in a direct line south of Boughton Hill, located in the south side of a small brook which empties through a ravine into the west side of Mud creek. The springs are on a level with the bed of the brook. The banks opposite the springs are from 18 to 20 feet high, perpendicular and rocky. The gas emits a peculiar odor. By applying a match the water appears to burn, and is not easily extinguished, except by a high wind or heavy rain."

It will be noticed that the two descriptions, written nearly 200 years apart, correspond in a striking manner. The same phenomena, that excited the wonder of La Salle and his companions, are still in operation, living witnesses of the truth of the Sulpician's narrative.

In the instructions given by the Earl of Bellomont to Col. Romer, to visit the Seneca country in September, 1700, he directs him "to go and view a well or spring which is eight miles beyond the Senecas furthest castle, which they have told me blazes up in a flame when a light coal or firebrand is put into it. You will do well to taste the said water and give me your opinion thereof, and bring with you some of it." N. Y. Col. Doc., Vol. IV, p. 750.

brandy from the Dutch to the village, on which many savages became drunk.[1]

Many times the relations of the person who had been killed at Montreal a few days before we left there, threatened, in their intoxication, to break our heads or dispatch us with their knives, so as to be able to say afterwards, that they committed the base act, when not in their senses. They are not in the habit of mourning for those who are killed in this manner, for fear of giving uneasiness to the living, by reminding him of his offence. In the mean time we kept so well on our guard, that we escaped all injury.

During this interval I saw the saddest spectacle I had ever witnessed. I was informed one evening, that some warriors had arrived with a prisoner, and had placed him in a cabin near our own. I went to see him, and found him seated with three women, who vied with each other in bewailing the death of a relative who had been killed in the skirmish in which the prisoner had been captured.

He was a young man 18 or 20 years old, very well formed, whom they had clothed from head to foot since

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[1] Father Bruyas, then located at Oneida, in writing under date of August 16th, 1669, from that village, as narrated in the cotemporary Jesuit Relation, says: "The Indians have returned this day from their traffic *with sixty barrels of brandy*, brought from New Holland." (Albany.) Jesuit Relation, 1670, p. 45; Canadian edition.

Thus the two Fathers, Bruyas and Galinee, of two rival religious orders, and by independent testimony, that of one having never before been published, verify the truth of each others statements. See Relation, 1670-1, p. 79.

his arrival. They had inflicted no injury upon him since his capture. They had not even saluted him with blows, as is their custom with prisoners on their entering a village. I thought, therefore, that I would have an opportunity to demand him for our guide, as they said he was one of the Tougenhas.[1] I then went to find M. de La Salle for that purpose, who told me that the Senecas were men of their word, that since they had promised us a captive, they would give us one, that it mattered little whether it was this one or another, and it was useless to press them. I therefore gave myself no further trouble about it. Night came on and we retired.

The next day had no sooner dawned, than a large company entered our cabin, to tell us that the captive was about to be burned, and that he had asked to see the "*mistigouch*."[2] I ran to the public place to see him, and found he was already on the scaffold, where they had bound him hand and foot to a stake.

I was surprised to hear him utter some Algonquin words which I knew, although, from the manner in which he pronounced them, they were hardly recognizable. He made me comprehend at last, that he desired his execution should be postponed until the next day. If he had spoken

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[1] The Tougenhas were probably identical with the Shawnees who lived on the Ohio, adjacent to the Miami and Scioto rivers.

[2] The Algonquin name for Frenchman. III Pouchot, p. 364. The meaning of the name is "builders of wooden canoes," alluding to the ships in which the French first appeared to the Indians. Relation, 1633, p. 42. Sagard voyage, p. 97.

good Algonquin, I would have understood him, but his language differed from the Algonquin still more than that of the Ottawas, so I understood but very little. I conversed with the Iroquois through our Dutch interpreter, who told me that the captive had been given to an old woman, in place of her son who had been killed, that she could not bear to see him live, that all the family took such a deep interest in his suffering, that they would not postpone his torture. The irons were already in the fire to torment the poor wretch.

On my part, I told our interpreter to demand him in place of the captive they had promised, and I would make a present to the old woman to whom he belonged, but he was not at any time willing to make the proposition, alleging that such was not their custom, and the affair was of too serious a nature.

I even used threats to induce him to say what I desired, but in vain, for he was obstinate as a Dutchman, and ran away to avoid me.

I then remained alone near the poor sufferer, who saw before him the instruments of his torture. I endeavored to make him understand that he could have no recourse but to God, and that he should pray to him thus:

"Thou who hast made all things, have pity on me. I am sorry not to have obeyed Thee, but if I should live, I will obey Thee in all things."

He understood me better than I expected, because all the people who are neighbors to the Outaouacs, understand

Algonquin. I did not consider that I ought to baptise him, not only because I could not understand him well enough to know his state of mind, but for the reason that the Iroquois urged me to leave him, that they might begin their tragedy.

Besides, I believed that the act of contrition which I had caused him to exhibit, would save him. Had I foreseen this event, on the preceding evening, I would certainly have baptised him, for I would have had, during the night, time to instruct him. So I could do nothing but exhort him to endure patiently, and to carry up his sufferings to God, in saying to him often, "Thou who hast made all things, have pity on me." This he repeated with his eyes raised toward heaven. In the meantime I saw the principal relative of the deceased, approach him with a gun barrel, half of which was heated red hot. This obliged me to withdraw. Some began to disapprove of my encouraging him, inasmuch as it is a bad sign among them for a prisoner to endure the torture patiently. I retired therefore with sorrow, and had scarcely turned away, when the barbarous Iroquois applied the red hot gun-barrel to the top of his feet, which caused the poor wretch to utter a loud cry. This turned me about, and I saw the Iroquois, with a grave and sober countenance, apply the iron slowly along his feet and legs, and some old men who were smoking around the scaffold, and all the young people, leaped with joy, to witness the contortions which the severity of the heat caused in the poor sufferer.

While these events were transpiring, I retired to the

cabin where we lodged, full of sorrow at being unable to save the poor captive, and it was then that I realized, more than ever, the importance of not venturing too far among the people of this country, without knowing their language, or being certain of obtaining an interpreter. I can affirm, that the lack of an interpreter under our own control, prevented the entire success of our expedition.

As I was in our cabin, praying to God, and very sad, M. de La Salle came and told me he was apprehensive that, in the excitement he saw prevailing in the village, they would insult us—that many would become intoxicated that day, and he had finally resolved to return to the place where we had left the canoes, and the rest of our people. I told him I was ready to follow, for I had difficulty, while remaining with him there, in banishing from my mind that sad spectacle. We told the seven or eight of our people who were there with us, to withdraw for the day to a small village half a league from the large one, where we were,[1] for fear of some insult, and M. de La Salle and myself went to find M. Dollier, six leagues from the village.

There were some of our people barbarous enough to be willing to witness, from beginning to end, the torture of the poor Toagenha, and who reported to us the next day, that his entire body had been burned with hot irons for

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[1] This was a small fortified village, a mile and a half west of Boughton Hill, and known as Fort Hill, among the early settlers. New York Hist. Coll., Vol. II. New series, p. 160.

the space of six hours, that there was not the least spot left that had not been roasted. After that they had required him to run six courses past the place where the Iroquois were waiting for him armed with burning clubs, with which they goaded and beat him to the ground when he attempted to join them. Many took kettles full of coals and hot ashes, with which they covered him, as soon as, by reason of fatigue and debility, he wished to take a moment's repose. At length, after two hours of this barbarous diversion, they knocked him down with a stone, and throwing themselves upon him, cut his body in pieces. One carried off his head, another an arm, a third some other member, which they put in the pot for the feast.

Many offered some to the Frenchmen, telling them there was nothing better in the world to eat, but no one desired to try the experiment.

In the evening all assembled in the public place, each with stick in hand, with which they began to beat the cabins on all sides, making a very loud noise, to chase away, they said, the soul of the deceased, which might be concealed in some corner to do them injury.

Sometime after this we returned to the village, to collect among the cabins the Indian corn necessary for our journey, and which was brought to us by the women of the place, each according to her means. It had to be carried on the back for the six long leagues that lay between the village and the place where we were encamped.

During our stay at that village, we inquired particularly about the road we must take in order to reach the

Ohio river, and they all told us to go in search of it from Sonnontouan. That it required six days' journey by land, of about twelve leagues each.[1]

This induced us to believe that we could not possibly reach it in that way, as we would hardly be able to carry, for so long a journey, our necessary provisions, much less our baggage. But they told us at the same time, that in going to find it by the way of Lake Erie, in canoes, we would have only a three days' portage before arriving at that river, reaching it at a point much nearer the people we were seeking, than to go by Sonnontouan.

What embarrassed us, however, more than all else was, that which the Indians told our Dutch interpreter. They said he was devoid of sense to be willing to go to the Toaguenha, who were very bad people, who would search for our camp-fires in the evening and then come in the night to kill us with their arrows, with which they would riddle us ere we had discovered them. Besides this, we would run great risk along the river Ohio, of meeting the Outastois[2] who would surely break our heads. That for these reasons the Senecas were not willing to go with us for fear it would be thought they were the cause of the death of the French, that they had, with great reluctance, decided to furnish a guide, fearing that Onontio would impute our

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[1] The route they proposed to take was probably up the Genesee river to one of its sources, crossing from thence to the head waters of the Allegany.

[2] So spelled in the manuscript. It may refer to the *Andastes*.

death to them, and afterwards make war upon them out of revenge.

These discussions continued among them without our being able to understand their nature, but I was completely astonished to see the ardor of my Dutchman abate. He continued to insist that the Indians where we wished to go were of no account, and would surely kill us. When I told him there was nothing to fear if we stationed a good sentinel, he replied, that the sentinel, being near the fire, could not see those who would come at night, under cover of the trees and thickets. Finally it was apparent, from all these speeches, that he was alarmed, and in fact he did not discharge his duties as guide with as much zeal as before. In addition to all this, it was evident that the savages were bribed. Thus they trifled with us from day to day, saying that their people delayed returning from their trading expedition, longer than they had anticipated.

We suffered much from this detention, because we lost the most favorable season for traveling, and could not hope to winter with any nation if we delayed much longer,— a contingency which M. de La Salle regarded as certain death, because of the difficulty of obtaining provisions in the woods. Nevertheless we have, thank God, experienced the contrary.

We were relieved of all this difficulty, by the arrival from the Dutch, of an Indian who lodged in our cabin. He belonged to a village of one of the Five Iroquois nations, which is situated at the end of Lake Ontario, for the convenience of hunting the deer and the bear, which are

abundant in that vicinity. This Indian assured us that we would have no trouble in finding a guide, that a number of captives of the nations we desired to visit were there, and he would very cheerfully conduct us thither.

We thought it would be well to take this course, not only because we would be on our way, approaching the place whither we desired to go, but as the village had only 18 or 20 cabins, we flattered ourselves we could easily become its masters, and exact through fear, what would not be willingly accorded to us through friendship.

It was under the influence of these hopes that we left the Sonnontouans. We found a river, one-eighth of a league broad and extremely rapid, forming the outlet or communication from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. The depth of the river (for it is properly the St. Lawrence), is, at this place extraordinary, for, on sounding close by the shore, we found 15 or 16 fathoms of water. The outlet is 40 leagues long, and has, from ten to twelve leagues above its embouchure into Lake Ontario, one of the finest cataracts, or falls of water in the world, for all the Indians of whom I have inquired about it, say, that the river falls at that place from a rock higher than the tallest pines, that is about 200 feet. In fact we heard it from the place where we were, although from 10 to 12 leagues distant, but the fall gives such a momentum to the water, that its velocity prevented our ascending the current by rowing, except with great difficulty. At a quarter of a league from the outlet where we were, it grows narrower, and its channel is confined between two very high, steep, rocky

banks, inducing the belief that the navigation would be very difficult quite up to the cataract. As to the river above the falls, the current very often sucks into this gulf, from a great distance, deer and stags, elk and roebucks, that suffer themselves to be drawn from such a point in crossing the river, that they are compelled to descend the falls, and to be overwhelmed in its frightful abyss.[1]

Our desire to reach the little village called Ganastogue Sonontoua *O-tin-a-ona-ta-ona*, prevented our going to view that wonder, which I consider as so much the greater in proportion as the river St. Lawrence is one of the largest in the world. I will leave you to judge if that is not a fine cataract in which all the water of that large river,—having its mouth three leagues broad,[2] falls from a height of 200 feet, with a noise that is heard not only at the place where we were, 10 or 12 leagues distant, but also from the other side of Lake Ontario, opposite its mouth, where M. Trouve told me had heard it.

[1] Galinee's description of the falls is probably the earliest on record. His account, which is wholly derived from the Indians, is remarkably correct. If they had been visited by the Jesuits prior to the time of this expedition, they have failed to relate the fact or to describe them in their journals. The Niagara river is alluded to under the name of *Onguiaahra*, as the celebrated river of the Neutral nation, by Father L'Allemant in the Jesuit Relation for 1640–1, p. 65, published in 1642, but he makes no mention of the cataract. Its first appearance is on Champlain's map of 1632. Afterwards on Sanson's map of Canada, published in Paris in 1657. It was mentioned by the Indians to Cartier, when he ascended the St. Lawrence in 1535. Lescarbot, p. 381, edition of 1609.

[2] At the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

We passed the river, and finally, at the end of five days' travel arrived at the extremity of Lake Ontario, where there is a fine large sandy bay, at the end of which is an outlet of another small lake which is there discharged.[1] Into this our guide conducted us about half a league, to a point nearest the village, but distant from it some 5 or 6 leagues, and where we unloaded our canoes.

We waited here until the chiefs of the village came to meet us with some men to carry our effects. M. de La Salle was seized, while hunting, with a severe fever, which in a few days reduced him very low.

Some said it was caused by the sight of three large rattlesnakes which he had encountered on his way while ascending a rocky eminence.[2] At any rate it is certain that it is a very ugly spectacle, for those animals are not timid like other serpents, but firmly wait for a person, quickly assuming a defensive attitude, and coiling half the body, from the tail to the middle, as if it were a large cord, keeping the remainder entirely straight, and darting forward, sometimes three or four paces, all the time making a loud noise with the rattle which it carries at the end of its tail. There are many in this place as large as the arm, six or seven feet long and entirely black. It vibrates its rattle very rapidly, making a sound like a quantity of melon or gourd seeds shaken in a box.

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[1] Burlington Bay.

[2] Probably the Mountain ridge.

At length, after waiting three days, the chiefs and almost every one in the village came to meet us. We held a council in our cabin, where my Dutchman succeeded better than had been done in the great village.

We gave two presents to obtain two captives, and a third for carrying our effects to the village. The savages made us two presents. The first of 14 or 15 dressed deerskins, to assure us they were going to conduct us to their village, but as they were only a handful of people, incapable of resistance, they begged us not to harm them, nor burn them, as the French had the Mohawks. We assured them of our good will. They made us still another present of about 5,000 shell beads, and afterwards two captives for guides. One of them belonged to the Chouanons[1] nation, and the other to the Nez Percez. I have since thought that the latter was from a nation near the Poutouatamites.[2] They were both excellent hunters, and seemed to be well disposed.

The Chouanon fell to M. de La Salle, and the other to us. They also told us they would aid the next day in carrying our effects to the village, so that we might go from thence to the banks of a river, on which we could embark for Lake Erie.

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[1] Shawnees. They were nearly exterminated by the Iroquois three years after. II. Charlevoix, p. 244.

[2] Pottawatamies.

I have thus far followed the narrative of Galinee, in a literal translation from the French manuscript. Before closing, I will give a brief sketch of the subsequent events which attended the expedition.

On leaving Burlington Bay they ascended the Mountain ridge, which, crossing the Niagara at Lewiston, sweeps round the western end of Lake Ontario. This must have been near and north of the present site of Hamilton. Aided by the Algonquins, who carried their effects, they proceeded to the village of *Otinaouataoua*, situated between the head of the Bay and the Grand river, reaching the former on the 22d day of September. The Indians urged them strongly to stay at that point for missionary work, but their desire for further discoveries impelled them forward.

Here it was they met Joliet,[1] returning from a fruitless expedition, on which he had been sent by M. de Courcelles, in search of the copper mines of Lake Superior, and who imparted valuable geographical information to Galinee

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[1] Joliet had left Montreal before the Sulpicians and La Salle, with four canoes and some merchandise for the Ottawas. Besides searching for copper mines, he had been instructed to find a more feasible route than the one then in use, for the transportation of the copper to Montreal. He was unsuccessful in his search for the mines, but having met with an Iroquois who had been taken prisoner by the Ottawas, the captive informed him of the shorter route by the way of the Grand river and Lake Ontario, and it was while testing its feasibility, that he met La Salle and the Sulpicians.

The copper mines were first made known by the Jesuits as early as 1659. Relation, 1659–60, p. 44.

for the construction of his chart, and for his course through the Lakes.

The missionaries, having separated from La Salle, left *Otinaouatuona* on the first of October with their retinue, accomplished the remainder of the portage to the Grand river, and descended its difficult and tortuous channel, now swollen with autumnal rains. In 14 days they reached its mouth and encamped on the northern shore of Lake Erie, which they describe as "a vast sea, tossed by tempestuous winds."

At the end of three days they built a cabin for their shelter, at or near the mouth of the river. Here they employed their time in hunting the game which abounded in the neighborhood, and in drying the flesh of two of the larger animals, which they had secured for subsistence on their journey. To these were added seventy bushels of nuts of various kinds, which they had gathered in the woods, and apples, plums, grapes and hackberries[1] in great

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[1] The Hackberry is undoubtedly the *celtis occidentalis*, or Nettle tree, a native of New England and of the Southern states. There is a region in Canada, lying north of Lake Erie, which has a climate and soil favorable for the growth of more southern plants, and in which many of them abound. This would be congenial to the Nettle tree. Gray says it is of medium size, bears a sweet, edible fruit as large as bird cherries, and ripens in autumn.

The Jesuits speak of apples shaped like a goose egg, with seeds as large as beans, brought from the country of the Eries, having a peculiar odor and delicate flavor. Relation, 1657, p. 33, Quebec edition.

quantity. The vine is described as growing spontaneously along the sandy border of the lake, producing grapes as large and palatable as the finest in the north of France. The expressed juice of the fruit served them all winter for the celebration of Holy Mass. Here they spent fifteen days, waiting in vain for the abatement of the violent winds which prevailed on the lake at that season. Winter being near at hand, it was deemed too hazardous to trust their frail bark gondolas on the treacherous lake, and they decided to encamp in the neighboring woods for the winter.

They selected a commodious spot about a mile farther inland, at the mouth of a small branch of the Grand river. Here they rebuilt their cabin, so as to afford them shelter from the weather, and protection against an enemy. In one end of the building they raised the first altar dedicated to Christian worship on the banks of Lake Erie.[1]

Fortunately they found the winter much milder than they had experienced during their residence at Montreal.

Six months had nearly passed away before they were ready to proceed on their expedition.

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[1] The Franciscan Father Daillon passed the winter of 1626-7 among the Neuter Nation, which resided on both sides of the Niagara and north of Lake Erie, and he may have celebrated mass on the shore of the lake. So also the Jesuits Brebeuf and Chaumonot, who visited the same nation in 1640, may have performed the same rite in that locality, but no record has been left of the fact.

The first mass celebrated in Canada was at Quebec, by the Franciscan D'Olbeau, on the 25th of June, 1615. I. Le Clercq, établissement de la Foi, p. 60.

On the 23d of March, 1670, they erected a cross, as a memorial of their winter home, to which they affixed the arms of Louis XIV., and took formal possession of the country in the name of that king. Three days thereafter they resumed their voyage toward the west, and arriving at the eastern side of Long Point, drew up their canoes on the beach, and encamped near the shore. Overcome with fatigue they were soon buried in sleep. Not anticipating any disaster, they carelessly left some of their effects quite near the water. A violent north-east gale arose in the night, disturbing the lake to such an extent, that the water rose to the height of six feet, and bore away the contents of one of their canoes. Fortunately they were aroused in season to secure the remainder. Their powder and lead were lost, and more than all, their holy chapel, without which the Eucharist could not be celebrated.

Discouraged by these misfortunes, they abandoned the further prosecution of the enterprise, and returned home by the circuitous route of the Sault de Ste Marie and Ottawa river, reaching Montreal on the 18th of the following June.

It now remains to notice briefly the further movements of La Salle. After reaching *Otinawatuaona*, he declined all further connection with the Sulpicians, under the pretext that the condition of his health would not warrant a winter encampment in the woods.

On the 30th day of September, the eve of their separation, the whole party united in celebrating their last Mass together, and the next day the two missionaries, accom-

panied by Joliet, left for the west as before related. La Salle set his face eastward, ostensibly for Montreal, but really, as is supposed, with the intention of making further efforts to reach the Ohio and the Mississippi through the Iroquois country. Unfortunately the journals which he kept, and the charts which he drew, have, it is feared, been irrevocably lost. The most diligent search among the papers of his family and elsewhere, have failed as yet to discover the slightest trace of the valuable documents.

If M. Margry's manuscripts, when published, do not settle all the questions that have arisen in regard to the discoveries of La Salle, they will at least shed new light and lustre upon the career, and fill some of the blanks which exist in the history of that remarkable and intrepid explorer.

They will give us fuller details of his first expedition to the Ohio, in which he is said to have visited the falls at Louisville, and from whence, being deserted by his companions, he returned alone to Montreal, after 1,200 miles of foot and canoe travel, subsisting on the game and herbs he found in the woods, or received from the friendly Indians he met on the way.

They may afford us satisfactory proof of his discovery of the Mississippi in 1671 and 1672, before it was visited by Marquette and Joliet, when, it is claimed, he descended the Illinois to its confluence with the Mississippi, and down the latter to the 36th degree of N. latitude.[1]

[1] Margry in Revue Maritime for 1872, p. 555.

They will give us details of his visit to France in 1674, when he received a Patent of Nobility; of his return to Canada the following year; of his contentions with the Jesuits; and of his voyage to France in 1678, when he received new supplies for his American enterprises, and a Royal Grant from the king.

They will give us a more satisfactory account of his expedition to the west in 1678–9, in which he built a bark on Lake Ontario, and the Griffon on the Niagara; of his voyage in the latter to Green Bay; his coasting by canoe along the western shore of Lake Michigan to the river St. Joseph; his portage from the latter to the sources of the Illinois, and descent to the foot of Lake Peoria, and of his long and wearisome return by way of the river St. Joseph, and across the Michigan peninsula to the Huron river. How he descended the latter in an elm bark canoe of his own construction, to the Detroit river, crossing which he found his way by land to Point Pelee, from whence, in another canoe, he coasted along Lake Erie and the Niagara as far as the dock on which he had built the Griffon, and where he first heard tidings of its loss, and of the wreck of another ship in the mouth of the St. Lawrence, freighted with goods destined for his use. How, weary and foot-sore, bronzed by sun and weather, but not disheartened, he reached Montreal after 65 days and 1000 miles of incessant travel by land, lake, and river. How several of his canoes, richly laden with furs, were lost in the rapids of the St. Lawrence, just in sight of their destination. How the news soon followed of the destruction of his forts at St. Joseph and

Crevecœur, and the desertion of his men. How his creditors received the intelligence of his disasters and seized his effects.

They will give us the details of his expedition in 1680, in which he penetrated the west by the way of Lake Ontario, leaving which a little west of Toronto, he ascended the river Humber, and passing through Lakes Simcoe, Huron and Michigan, reached his deserted forts in the Illinois country, where he passed the winter, and returned to Fort Frontenac in the spring of 1681.

We shall undoubtedly have full accounts of the expedition which he made in the following summer, when he accomplished his famous descent of the Mississippi to its mouth, the first on record, and took possession of the country in the name of the King, after whom he called it "Louisiana"

How he returned to Quebec in 1683, and left for France in 1684, where he defeated the machinations of his enemies at the Court of Louis XIV., and, under his patronage, organized an expedition of four ships, in which he sailed for the mouth of the Mississippi, reaching Matagordas Bay in February, 1685.

How, overwhelmed by the loss of those ships, and the treachery of their captain, but, with a courage and self-reliance superior to every adversity, and an energy and resolution that never faltered, he set out in January, 1687, with twenty companions, on a long, perilous journey to Lake Michigan in search of succor for the little colony he

had left on the shores of the Mexican Gulf,—a mission he was not permitted to accomplish.

De Soto, after traversing with his mailed warriors our southern country, from Florida to the Mississippi, found his grave in the bed of the mighty river he had discovered. Marquette, the next in the order of explorers, was overtaken by death while returning homeward through Lake Michigan, and buried where he died, on the eastern shore of that lake, at the mouth of the river which perpetuates his name.

La Salle, less fortunate in being denied a natural death, also closed his career in the land he was engaged in exploring. Arrested on his errand of mercy by the hand of an assassin, he fell by treachery in 1687, on a branch of the Trinity river in Texas, where his unburied remains were left a prey to the savage beasts of the wilderness.

The American people, who entered upon and developed the inheritance he left as the fruit of his bold and sagacious enterprises, have built no monument to his memory. Here and there an insignificant locality bears his name, and one of the four historical panels in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington is occupied by his portrait, in proximity to those of Columbus, Raleigh and Cabot.

An authentic and detailed account of his discoveries and explorations, illustrated with maps and portraits compiled from original sources under the supervision of one who has devoted a life-time to the subject, and published

to the world under the auspices of the American Congress, will constitute a memorial more enduring and appropriate than the most imposing structure of bronze or marble.

APPENDIX.

The Origin of the name Seneca.

How this name originated, is a *vexata quæstio* among Indo-antiquarians and etymologists. The least plausible supposition is, that the name has any reference to the moralist Seneca.

Some have supposed it to be a corruption of the Dutch term for Vermillion, *cinabar* or cinnabar, under the assumption that the Senecas, being the most warlike of the Five Nations, used that pigment more than the others, and thus gave origin to the name.[1]

This hypothesis is supported by no authority. The use of war paint, common to every Indian nation, was not so exclusively practiced by the Senecas, as to be likely to give origin to their national name. Besides, Vermillion is the red sulphuret of mercury, and was hardly procurable by the Indians in 1616, when the name was first used. They undoubtedly made use of some vegetable dye at that early day.

The name "*Sennecas*," first appears on a Dutch map of 1616, and again on Jean de Laets' map of 1633. Inasmuch as it comes to us through a Dutch medium, it is claimed by some that it is derived from the Algonquins, with whom the Dutch had their first intercourse. The map of 1616 above referred to, was compiled from the report of one Kleynties, based on a previous exploration of the Iroquois country. On this map it is written "Sennecas." A copy

[1] Cornplanter Memorial, p. 24.

The French, in their pioneer explorations of Canada, derived their knowledge of the Senecas through the Franciscan and Jesuit Missionaries. Those holy Fathers first heard of them through the Hurons, among whom they established at a very early day the missions of their respective Orders. The Hurons called them *Sonontouerhonons*, that is, "*people of Sonnontouan*," the termination *rhonons* or *ronons* signifying "people."[1]

Their name first occurs in the Jesuit Relation for 1635, and is there written by Brebeuf, *Sonontoenhonons*. Relation, 1635, p. 33.

Le Mercier spells it *Sonontouanhronon*. Relation, 1637, p. 111.

Le Jeune mentions the *Sonontouehronons*. Relation, 1640, p. 35.

They are subsequently called Tsonnontouans. Relation, 1670, p. 69, and Tshonnontouans. Le Clercq Etablissement de la Foi, Vol. II, p. 187.

The Hurons and Senecas spoke a kindred language, and the word *Sonnontouan* is the same in both dialects It signifies "great hill," and in the Seneca is compounded of *onondah*, hill, and *go waah*, great. The Senecas, in forming a compound word, usually drop all which follow the initial consonant of the last syllable of the noun, and the initial consonant of the adjective, and then suffix the latter to the former. Thus the compound of the above becomes *Onondowaah*, or great hill, written *Sonnontouan* by the Jesuits.[1] The letter S when prefixed conveys the idea of *possession*, and in some cases Ts is substituted to represent a lisping sound of the S, which was formerly quite common among the Senecas, and is still occasionally heard.

To this word, *Onondowaah* or great hill, the suffix *gaah* was added, to denote the *Seneca people*. By dropping the neuter prefix

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[1] Relation, 1635, p. 33, and 1654, p 18 See Relation for 1670, p. 69, where it is written Tsonnontouan.

[2] Alluding to their residence on Boughton Hill where their principal village was located. See page 10.

O, the national title became *Nun-do-wah-gaah* or "*The Great Hill people*," as now used by the Senecas.

Sometimes the suffix *o-noh* is substituted for *gaah*, which would make *Nun-do-wa-o-noh*, having however the same meaning. Morgan's League, p. 51. The termination *o-noh* signifying "inhabitants," is nearly identical with the *ronons* or *rhonons* of the Hurons, and has the same signification.

The Mohawks use the terminations *ronnon* and *haga*, which correspond with the similar words used by the Senecas. Bruyas' Dictionary, p. 18.

In the vocabulary of the Huron or Wyandot language, as given by Mr Gallatin, Coll. Am. Ant. Society, Vol. II, pp. 334 and 348, the Huron word for hill is given as *onontah*, and for great, *ouen*. If compounded, they would form *Onontaouen* or great hill, which is only a dialectical variation from the Seneca *Nun-do-wah*, and embraces such a resemblance as we would expect from the common origin of the two nations.

In pronouncing the Indian names written by the Jesuits, the French vowel and nasal sounds must be regarded. The French, having no "*w*," express its sound by the combination "*ou*." In writing Indian words the letters *d* and *t* are often used interchangeably.

If the name Seneca can legitimately be derived from the Seneca word *Nun-do-wah-gaah* as above given, it can only be done by prefixing *Son*, as was the custom of the Jesuits, and dropping all unnecessary letters. It would then form the word *Son-non-do-wa-ga*, the first two and last syllable of which, if the French sounds of the letters are given, are almost identical in pronunciation with *Seneca*. The chief difficulty, however, would be in the disposal of the two superfluous syllables. They may have been dropped in the process of contraction so common in the composition of Indian words—a result which would be quite likely to occur to a Seneca name, in its transmission through two other languages, the Mohawk and the Dutch.

The foregoing queries and suggestions are thrown out for what they are worth, in the absence of any more reliable theory. It is to be hoped that a happy solution of the vexed question may yet be reached by some investigator having the necessary facilities and qualifications.

DE CÉLORON'S EXPEDITION TO THE OHIO IN 1749.

THE extensive territory lying between the Ohio river and Lake Erie has been the theatre of many remarkable historical changes. Its earliest inhabitants left no record of their origin or history, save in the numerous tumuli which are scattered over its surface, bearing trees of the largest growth, not distinguishable from the adjacent forest. Measured by the extent and character of those vast structures, the race that built them must have been intelligent and populous. When and how they disappeared, we know not. Whether they were directly succeeded by the present race of Indians, or by an intermediate people, are questions to which history gives no answer. When La Salle discovered the Ohio he found it in the occupation of the red man, who claimed possession and ownership over the territory comprised within the limits of Western Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, until the close of the last century. His villages were on every stream, and his hunting grounds embraced every hill and valley.

The attractions of the fur trade stimulated eastern adventurers to penetrate, from time to time, the forest recesses

of the West, and glowing descriptions were reported of the fertile soil, mineral wealth and the abundance of the fur-bearing animals. It was not until England and France, the two great rival powers of Europe, became impressed with the prospective growth and value of the territory, and each prepared to grasp the coveted prize, that the native owners of the soil began to take serious alarm. On the one side, England claimed to the northern lakes, while France asserted ownership not only as far south as the Ohio, but over all the lands drained by its extensive tributaries.

The treaty of Aix la Chapelle, to which both of those powers were parties, while it terminated a long and sanguinary war in Europe, left many subjects of controversy still unsettled. Among them were the boundaries between the French and English in America. At the conclusion of that treaty England lost no time in initiating measures for the occupation and colonization of the disputed territory, and encouraged the formation of the Ohio company as one of the efficient means for accomplishing that purpose. Half a million of acres were granted by the Crown to that association, to be selected mainly on the south side of the Ohio, between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers This was coupled with the condition that settlements, protected by suitable forts, should be established on the grant. The French were equally alive on the subject, and the demonstrations of the English aroused the attention of the Marquis de la Gallissonière, a man of eminent ability and forethought, who was then governor of

Canada. In order to counteract the designs of the English, he despatched Captain Bienville de Céloron,[1] a chevalier of the order of St. Louis, in command of a detachment, composed of eight subaltern officers, six cadets, an armorer, twenty soldiers, one hundred and eighty Canadians, thirty Iroquois and twenty-five Abenakis, with orders to descend the Ohio, and take possession of the country in the name the King. The principal officers under him were De Contrecoeur, who had been in command of Fort Niagara, and Coulon de Villiers, one of seven brothers, six of whom lost their lives in the Canadian wars. Contrecoeur was subsequently in command of Fort du Quesne, at or immediately after the defeat of Braddock.

The present article is designed to give an account of that expedition, to trace its route and to identify as far as possible the geographical points which it visited. Only brief notices of the undertaking have heretofore been given to the public. The discovery of some of the leaden plates, buried by its officers on the banks of the Ohio, have from time to time awakened public interest and curiosity which the meagre accounts already published have failed to satisfy. While recently examining the archives of the *Département de la Marine* in Paris the writer met with the original manuscript journal kept by De Céloron during his entire voyage. He also found in the *Grandes Archives* of the *Dépot de la Marine*, No. 17 rue de l'Université, a manu-

[1] This name is usually spelled Céleron, but incorrectly. M. Ferland, in his Cours d'Histoire du Canada, Vol. II, p. 463, calls him Céloron de Blainville.

script diary of Father Bonnecamps, who styles himself "Jesuitte Mathématicien," and who seems to have been the chaplain, as well as a kind of sailing master of the expedition, keeping a daily record of the courses and distances they traveled, the latitudes and longitudes of the principal geographical points, with occasional brief notes of the most important occurrences. In another department, called the *Bibliothèque du dépôt de la Marine*, there was found a large MS. map, 31½ by 34½ inches square, representing the country through which the expedition passed, including the St. Lawrence westward of Montreal, Lakes Erie and Ontario, the territory south of those lakes as far as the Ohio, and the whole course of that river from the source of the Alleghany to the mouth of the Great Miami. This map forms an important illustration of the expedition. On it are delineated by appropriate characters the points where leaden plates were deposited, where the latitudes and longitudes were observed, and the localities of the Indian villages visited on the route.

The journals of De Céloron and Father Bonnecamps, and the map of the latter, have furnished the ground-work of the narrative. Explanatory and historical notes, drawn from other sources, have occasionally been added.

The first of the leaden plates was brought to the attention of the public in a letter addressed by Governor George Clinton to the Lords of Trade in London, dated New York, Dec. 19th, 1750, in which he states that he "would send to their Lordships in two or three weeks a plate of lead, full of writing, which some of the upper nations of Indians

stole from Jean Coeur,[1] the French interpreter at Niagara, on his way to the river Ohio, which river, and all the lands thereabouts, the French claim, as will appear by said writing." He further states "that the lead plate gave the Indians so much uneasiness that they immediately despatched some of the Cayuga chiefs to him with it, saying that their only reliance was on him, and earnestly begged he would communicate the contents thereof to them, which he had done, much to their satisfaction and the interests of the English." The governor concludes by saying that "the contents of the plate may be of great importance in clearing up the encroachments which the French have made on the British Empire in America."[2] The plate was delivered to Colonel, afterwards Sir William Johnson, on the 4th of December, 1750, at his residence on the Mohawk, by a Cayuga Sachem, who accompanied it by the following speech:

"Brother Corlear and War-ragh-i-ya-ghey:[3] I am sent here by the Five Nations with a piece of writing, which the Senecas, our brethren, got by some artifice from Jean Coeur, earnestly beseeching you will let us know what it means, and as we put all our confidence in you, our brother, we hope you will explain it ingenuously to us." Colonel Johnson replied to the Sachem, and through him to the Five Nations, returning a belt of wampum, and explaining

[1] Joncaire.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., VI, p. 604.

[3] The Indian name of Sir William Johnson. It signifies "Superintendent of Affairs."

the inscription on the plate. He told them that "it was a matter of the greatest consequence, involving the possession of their lands and hunting grounds, and that Jean Coeur and the French ought immediately to be expelled from the Ohio and Niagara." In reply, the Sachem said that "he had heard with great attention and surprise the substance of the 'Devilish writing' he had brought," and that Colonel Johnson's remarks "were fully approved." He promised that belts from each of the Five Nations should be sent from the Senecas' Castle to the Indians at the Ohio, to warn and strengthen them against the French encroachments in that direction.

The following is a literal copy of the inscription in question. It was sent by Governor Clinton to the Lords of Trade on the 17th of January, 1751:

"L'AN 1749 DV REGNE DE LOVIS XV ROY DE FRANCE, NOVS CELORON, COMMANDANT D'VN DETACHMENT ENVOIÉ PAR MONSIEVR LE MIS. DE LA GALISSONIÈRE, COMMANDANT GENERAL DE LA NOVVELLE FRANCE POVR RETABLIR LA TRANQVILLITÉ DANS QVELQVES VILLAGES SAVVAGES DE CES CANTONS, AVONS ENTERRÉ CETTE PLAQVE AU CONFLUENT DE L'OHIO ET DE TCHADAKOIN CE 29 JVILLET, PRÈS DE LA RIVIÈRE OYO AVTREMENT BELLE RIVIÈRE, POVR MONVMENT DV RENOVVELLEMENT DE POSSESSION QVE NOVS AVONS PRIS DE LA DITTE RIVIÈRE OYO, ET DE TOVTES CELLES QVI Y TOMBENT, ET DE TOVTES LES TERRES DES DEVX COTES JVSQVE AVX SOVRCES DES DITTES RIVIÈRES AINSI QV'EN ONT JOVI OV DV JOVIR LES PRECEDENTS ROIS DE FRANCE, ET QV'ILS S'Y SONT MAINTENVS PAR LES ARMES ET PAR LES TRAITTES, SPECIALEMENT PAR CEVX DE RISWICK, D'VTRECHT ET D'AIX LA CHAPELLE."

The above is certified to be "a true copy," by "Peter De Joncourt, interpreter."

TRANSLATION.

"In the year 1749, of the reign of Louis the 15th, King of France, we Céloron, commander of a detachment sent by Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissonière, Governor General of New France, to reestablish tranquility in some Indian villages of these cantons, have buried this Plate of Lead at the confluence of the Ohio and the Chautauqua, this 29th day of July, near the river Ohio, otherwise *Belle Rivière*, as a monument of the renewal of the possession we have taken of the said river Ohio, and of all those which empty into it, and of all the lands on both sides as far as the sources of the said rivers, as enjoyed or ought to have been enjoyed by the kings of France preceding, and as they have there maintained themselves by arms and by treaties, especially those of Ryswick, Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle."

On the 29th of January, 1751, Governor Clinton sent a copy of the above inscription to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, informing him that it was "taken from a plate stolen from Joncaire some months since in the Seneca country as he was going to the river Ohio."[1]

The expedition was provided with a number of leaden plates, about eleven inches long, seven and a half inches wide and one-eighth of an inch thick, on each of which an inscription in French, similar to the one above given, was engraved or stamped in capital letters, with blanks left for the insertion of the names of the rivers, at the confluence of which with the Ohio they should be deposited, and the dates of their deposit. The name of the artist, Paul de Brosse, was engraved on the reverse of each. Thus provided, the expedition left La Chine on the 15th of June,

[1] V. Penn. Col. Records, p. 508.

1749, and ascended the St. Lawrence to Fort Frontenac. From thence, coasting along the eastern and southern shore of Lake Ontario, they arrived at Fort Niagara on the 6th of July. They reached the portage at Lewiston on the 7th, and ascended the Niagara into Lake Erie. On the 14th, after advancing a few miles up the lake, they were compelled by a strong wind to encamp on the south shore. They embarked early on the morning of the 16th, hoping to reach the portage of "Chatakouin" the same day, but an adverse wind again forced them to land.

The southern shore of the lake at this point is described as "extremely shallow, with no shelter from the force of the winds, involving great risk of shipwreck in landing, which is increased by large rocks, extending more than three-fourths of a mile from the shore." Céloron's canoe struck on one, and he would inevitably have been drowned, with all on board, had not prompt assistance been rendered. On the 16th at noon they arrived at the Chatakouin portage. This was an open roadstead, where the United States government many years ago attempted unsuccessfully to construct a safe harbor. It is now known as Barcelona or Portland. As soon as all preparations were made for the overland passage, and the canoes all loaded, Mm. de Villiers and le Borgne were despatched with fifty men to clear the way, while Céloron examined the situation of the place, in order to ascertain its fitness for the establishment of a Post. He says: "I found it ill-adapted for such a purpose, as well from its position as from its relation to the navigation of the lake. The water is so shallow that barks

standing in cannot approach within a league of the portage. There being no island or harbor to which they could resort for shelter, they would be under the necessity of riding at anchor and discharging their loading by batteaux. The frequency of squalls would render it a place of danger. Besides, there are no Indian villages in the vicinity. In fact, they are quite distant, none being nearer than Ganaougon and Paille Coupée. In the evening Mm. de Villiers and le Borgne returned to lodge at the camp, having cleared the way for about three quarters of a league." Up to this time, the usual route of the French to the Mississippi had been by the way of Detroit, Green Bay, the Wisconsin, Lake Michigan and the Illinois river. They had five villages on the Mississippi, near the mouth of the Illinois, as early as 1749.

"On the 17th," continues the Journal, "at break of day, we began the portage, the prosecution of which was vigorously maintained. All the canoes, provisions, munitions of war, and merchandise intended as presents to the Indians bordering on the Ohio, were carried over the three-quarters of a league which had been rendered passable the day previous. The route was exceedingly difficult, owing to the numerous hills and mountains which we encountered. All my men were very much fatigued. We established a strong guard, which was continued during the entire campaign, not only for the purpose of security, but for teaching the Canadians a discipline which they greatly needed We continued our advance on the 14th, but bad weather prevented our making as much progress as on the preceding

day. I consoled myself for the delay, as it was caused by a rain which I greatly desired, as it would raise the water in the river sufficient to float our loaded canoes. On the 19th, the rain having ceased, we accomplished half a league. On the 20th and 21st we continued our route with great diligence, and arrived at the end of the portage on the banks of Lake Chatacoin on the 22d. The whole distance may be estimated at four leagues. Here I repaired my canoes and recruited my men."

It is a little over eight miles in a direct line from the mouth of Chautauqua Creek on Lake Erie to the head of Chautauqua Lake. The route taken by the expedition would of course be more, and probably equal to the four leagues, or ten miles, stated by Céloron. The difficulties they encountered must have been exceedingly formidable. Chautauqua Lake is 726 feet above Lake Erie, and in order to reach the water shed between the two lakes, an ascent of at least one thousand feet had to be overcome. Although at that early day, when the forests were yet undisturbed, the Chautauqua Creek flowed with fuller banks than now, yet even then but little use could be made of it by loaded canoes, except near its mouth. The portage could only be accomplished for the greater part of the way by carrying the canoes, baggage, provisions and supplies on the shoulders of the men up the steep mountain sides to the summit from which the waters flowed southward into Chautauqua Lake. Looking back from this elevation, a magnificent panorama must have presented itself to Céloron and his companions. Lake Erie lay at their feet,

with the Canada shore, forty miles distant, in plain sight, while the extremities of that great inland sea, extending east and west, were lost below the horizon.

The expedition did not loiter long on the banks of Chautauqua Lake. On the 23d they launched their bark flotilla on its clear, cool waters, and paddling south-eastward through the lake, passed the narrows at what are now known as Long and Bemus Points. The shape of the lake is quite peculiar. Its north-western and south-eastern extremities, which are nearly equal, and comprise the greater part of the lake, are connected by two short irregular straits, between which nestles a small beautiful bay. The singular configuration of the whole gives plausability to the interpretation of the Indian name Chautauqua, which is said to signify "a sack tied in the middle"

On the evening of the 23d of July the expedition encamped on shore within three miles of the outlet. The lake is stated by Céloron to be "nine leagues," or about twenty-two miles long. The actual length is less than sixteen. Distances are almost always overstated by the early French voyageurs in America. In the evening a party of Indians, who had been engaged during the day in fishing in the lake, reported they had seen the enemy watching them from the adjacent forest. They had fled as soon as discovered. Early on the morning of the 24th the expedition entered the outlet, a narrow stream winding through a deep morass, bordered by a tall forest, which, over-arching the way, almost shut out the light of day. The water being found quite low, in order to lighten the canoes,

they sent the greater part of their loading about three-quarters of a league by land, over a path pointed out by the Sieur De Saussaye, who was acquainted with the country.[1] The distance they accomplished this day by water did not exceed half a league. It probably carried them through the swamp as far as the high land in the neighborhood of the present village of Jamestown. The next day, before resuming their march, Céloron deemed it expedient to convene a council to consider what should be done in view of the evident signs of an enemy in the vicinity, who on being discovered had abandoned their canoes and effects and fled, carrying the alarm to the adjacent village of Paille Coupée. The council decided to dispatch Lieutenant Joncaire, some Abenakis and three Iroquois, with three belts, to assure the fugitives of the friendly object of the expedition. After the departure of the embassy the march was resumed over the rapids, with which the outlet abounded.

"We proceeded," says the Journal, "about a league with great difficulty. In many places I was obliged to assign forty men to each canoe to facilitate their passage. On the 26th and 27th we continued our voyage not without many obstacles; notwithstanding all our precautions to guard our canoes, they often sustained great injury by reason of the shallow water. On the 29th at noon I entered the '*la Belle Rivière*.' I buried a plate of lead at the foot of a red oak on the south bank of the river Oyo (Ohio) and of the Chanougon, not far from the village of Kanaouagon, in latitude 42° 5′ 23″." It is unnecessary

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., IX, p. 1007.

to give a copy of the inscription on the above plate, as it is similar to the one which was sent to Governor Clinton, as before related, except slight variations in the spelling, accents and arrangement of lines. The three plates which have thus far been discovered present the same differences. The places and dates of deposit are coarsely engraved, evidently with a knife. In the one just described the blanks were filled with the words: "Au conduent de l'Ohio et Kanaaiagon, le 29 Juillet."

"At the confluence of the Ohio and Kanaaiagon the 29th of July."

The river, spelled "Kanaaiagon" on the plate, "Chanougon" by Céloron in his Journal, and "Kanaouangon," on Bonnecamps' map, is a considerable stream that rises in western New York, and after receiving the Chautauqua outlet as a tributary, empties into the Alleghany just above the village of Warren. It is now known as the Conewango. On the site of Warren, at the north-westerly angle of the two rivers, there was, at the time of Céloron's visit, an Indian village, composed principally of Senecas, with a few Loups, bearing the name of Kanaouagon. It was opposite the mouth of the Conewango, on the south bank of the Alleghany, that the leaden plate was buried. The following is Father Bonnecamps' entry in his diary.

"*L'on a enterré une lame de plomb, avec une inscription, sur la rive méridionale de cette rivière, et vis-a-vis le confluent des deux rivières.*" "We buried a leaden plate bearing an inscription on the south bank of this river, and opposite the confluence of the two rivers."

The place of deposit is a little differently described in the Procès Verbal drawn up on the occasion. "*Au pied d'un chêne rouge, sur la rive méridionale de la rivière Ohio, et vis-a-vis la pointe d'une illette où se joignent les deux rivières Ohio et Kanaougon.*" "At the foot of a red oak on the south bank of the Ohio river, and opposite the point of a small island, at the confluence of the two rivers Ohio and Kanaougon." It will be noticed that the inscription on the plate recites that it was buried on the south side of the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the "*Chanougon*" (Conewango).

This presents a discrepancy between the inscriptions as given in the journals of Céloron and Bonnecamps, and the one on the plate forwarded by Colonel Johnson to Governor Clinton in 1751 as above described. The latter states it to have been buried "at the confluence of the Ohio and *Tchadakoin*." The solution of the difficulty seems to be, that the latter plate was *never buried* or *used*, but was abstracted by the Iroquois friendly to the English, and another plate, having a correct inscription, was substituted by the French. The inscription on the one sent to Governor Clinton, was undoubtedly prepared on the supposition that the Chautauqua outlet emptied into the Ohio. But when that outlet was found to be a tributary of the Conewango,[1] and that the latter emptied into the Ohio, a corrected plate, containing the name of the Cone-

[1] On Crevecoeur's Map of 1758, in *Dépots des Cartes, Ministère de la Guerre, Paris*, the Conewango is called the "Chataouin" as far down as its junction with the Alleghany.

wango instead of the Chautauqua, was substituted and buried, as stated in Céloron's journal. The latter plate has never been found. This solution is strengthened by the fact that none of the accounts of the plate sent to Governor Clinton state that it had been *buried*, or had been *dug up*. The Cayuga Sachem, in his speech quoted in Colonel Johnson's letter of December 4th, 1750, states that "the Senecas got it by *some artifice* from Jean Coeur."

Governor Clinton, in his letter to the Lords of Trade, states that some of the upper nations, which include the Senecas, "stole it from Jean Coeur, the French interpreter at Niagara, on his way to the river Ohio." The Governor states the same in substance in his letter to Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania. The theft must therefore have occurred while the expedition was on its way to the Ohio, and before any of the plates were buried. The original plate was probably soon after carried to England by Governor Clinton. The names "Chatacoin" and "Chatakouin," as spelled by Céloron in his journal, and "Tchadakoin," as inscribed on the plate, and "Tjadakoin," as spelled by Bonnecamps on his map, are all variations of the modern name Chautauqua. It will be found differently written by several early authors. Pouchot writes it "Shatacoin;" Lewis Evans, 1758, "Jadachque;" Sir William Johnson, "Jadaghque;" Mitchell, 1755, "Chadocoin," Alden, as pronounced by Cornplanter, "Chaud-dauk-wā." It is a Seneca name, and in the orthography of that nation, according to the system of the late Reverend Asher

Wright, long a missionary among them, and a fluent speaker of their language, it would be written "Jāh-dāh-gwăh," the first two vowels being long and the last short. Different significations have been ascribed to the word. It is said to mean "The place where a child was swept away by the waves." The late Dr. Peter Wilson, an educated Seneca, and a graduate of Geneva Medical College, told the writer that it signified literally, "where the fish was taken out."

He related an Indian tradition connected with its origin. A party of Senecas were returning from the Ohio to Lake Erie. While paddling through Chautauqua Lake, one of them caught a strange fish and tossed it into his canoe. After passing the portage into Lake Erie, they found the fish still alive, and threw it in the water. From that time the new species became abundant in Lake Erie, where one was never known before. Hence, they called the place where it was caught, Jah-dah-gwăh, the elements of which are Gā-joh, "fish," and Ga-dah-gwăh, "taken out." By dropping the prefixes, according to Seneca custom, the compound name "Jah-dah-gwăh" was formed. Among other significations which have been assigned to the word, but without any authority, may be mentioned "The elevated place," and "The foggy place," in allusion, probably, to the situation of the lake, and the mists which prevail on its surface at certain seasons.

It will be noticed the Alleghany is called by Céloron the Ohio, or "La belle Rivière." This is in accordance

with the usage of all early French writers since the discovery of the river by La Salle. The same custom prevailed among the Senecas. They have always considered the Alleghany as the Ohio proper. If you ask a Seneca his name for that river, he will answer O-hée-yuh. If you ask him its meaning, he will give it as "Beautiful river."

Mr. Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary, supposing the word to be of Delaware origin, endeavors to trace its etymology from several words, signifying in that language, "the white foaming river." The late Judge Hall of Cincinnati adopted the same derivation. Neither of them seem to have been aware that it is *a genuine Seneca word*, derived from that nation by the French, and by the latter written "Ohio." Its pronunciation by a Frenchman would exactly represent the word as spoken by a Seneca, the letter "i" being sounded like e. The name "Ohio" was therefore, correctly inserted on the plates buried on the Alleghany, above its junction with the Monongahela at Pittsburgh.

At the time the plate was interred opposite the mouth of the Conewango, as already narrated, all the officers and men of the expedition being drawn up in battle array, the chief in command proclaimed in a loud voice, "Vive le Roi," and that possession was now taken of the country in the name of the King. The royal arms were affixed to a neighboring tree, and a *Procès Verbal* was drawn up and signed as a memorial of the ceremony. The same formal-

ity was adopted at the burial of each succeeding plate. This procès verbal was in the following form, and in each instance was signed and witnessed by the officers present: "*L'an*, 1749, *nous Céloron, chevalier de l'ordre Royal et militaire de St. Louis, Capitaine Commandant un détachement envoyé par les ordres de M. le Marquis de Galissonnière, Commandant General en Canada, dans la belle Rivière accompagné des principaux officiers de nôtre détachement, avons enterré* (Here was inserted the place of deposit) *une plaque de plomb, et fait attacher dans le même lieu, à un arbre, les Armes du Roi. En foy de quoi, nous avons dressé et signé, avec M. M. les officiers, le present Procès verbal à notre camp, le* (day of the month) 1749." "In the year 1749 we, Céloron, Chevalier of the Royal and military order of St. Louis, commander of a detachment sent by order of the Marquis of Galissonière, Governor General of Canada, to the Ohio, in presence of the principal officers of our detachment, have buried (Here was inserted the place of deposit.) a leaden plate, and in the same place have affixed to a tree the Arms of the King. In testimony whereof we have drawn up and signed, with the officers the present Procès verbal, at our camp, the (day of the month) 1749." This method of asserting sovereignty over new territory is peculiar to the French, and was often adopted by them. La Salle, at the mouth of the Mississippi in 1682, thus proclaimed the dominion of *Louis le Grand*, and more recently the same formality was observed when a French squadron took possession of some islands in the Pacific Ocean.

A few miles from Kanaonagon, on the right bank of the Alleghany, just below its junction with the Broken-straw creek, was the Indian village of "Paille Coupée," or Cut Straw, the name being given by Céloron as *Kach-io-dagon*, occupied principally by Senecas. The English name "Broken straw," and the French name Paille Coupée, were both probably derived from the Seneca name, which is De-ga-syo-noh-dyah-goh, which signifies literally, broken straw. Kachuiodagon, as given by Céloron, and Koshenunteagunk, as given on the Historical Map of Pennsylvania, and the Seneca name, are all three the same word in different orthography, the variation in the first two being occasioned by the difference between the French and English mode of spelling the same Indian word. Father Bonnecamps states the village to be in latitude 41° 54′ 3″ and in longitude 79° 13′ west of Paris.

While the expedition was resting in the vicinity of these two Indian villages, a council was held with the inhabitants, conducted by Joncaire; whom Céloron states had been adopted by the Senecas, and possessed great influence and power over them. They addressed him in the council as "our child Joncaire." He was probably the person of that name met by Washington at Venango four years afterwards,[1] and a son of the Joncaire men-

[1] Governor Clinton, in his address before the New York Historical Society in 1811, inquires if the Joncaire met by Charlevoix and Washington were the same. They could not have been, for the one mentioned by Charlevoix died in 1740.

tioned by Charlevoix as living at Lewiston on the Niagara in 1721, "who possessed the wit of a Frenchman and the sublime eloquence of an Iroquois." The father, who was a captive, died in 1740, leaving two half-breed sons, who seem to have inherited his influence and distinction. Their names were Chabert Joncaire, Junior, and Philip Clauzonne de Joncaire. Both were in the French service, and brought reinforcements from the west to Fort Niagara at the time it was besieged by Sir William Johnson in 1759. Their names are affixed to the capitulation which took place a few days later. The former was in command of Fort Schlosser, his brother, who was a captain in the marine, being with him. They were both in the expedition of Céloron.

The result of the council held by Joncaire was not satisfactory to the French. It was very evident there was a strong feeling among the Indians on the Alleghany in favor of the English. It did not, however, prevent the French from descending the river. After pledging the Senecas in a cup of "Onontios milk" (brandy), the expedition left the villages of Kanaouagon and Paille Coupée on the first day of August, and after proceeding about four leagues below the latter, reached a village of Loups and Renards, composed of ten cabins. The Loups were a branch of the Delawares, called by the English Munseys. Four or five leagues farther down they passed another small village, consisting of six cabins, and on the third of August another of ten cabins. The next was a village on the "Rivière aux Boeufs." According to Father Bonne-

camps, they passed between Paille Coupée and the Rivière aux Boeufs one village on the left and four on the right, the latitude of the third on the right being 41° 30′ 30″, and the longitude 79° 21′ west of Paris. The Rivière aux Boeufs is now known as French creek, it having been so called by Washington on his visit there in 1753. The English named it Venango. A fort was built by the French in 1754 4 on its western bank, sixty rods below its junction with the Alleghany, called Fort Machault. In 1760, when the English took possession, they built another, forty rods higher up, and near the mouth of French creek, which they called Fort Venango. In 1787 the United States Government sent a force to protect the settlers, and built a fort on the south bank of the creek, half a mile above its mouth, which was called Fort Franklin. From all of which it appears that this was at an early day an important point on the river. It is now the site of the flourishing village of Franklin. At the time of Céloron's visit the Indian village numbered about ten cabins.

After passing the Rivière aux Boeufs and another on the left, the expedition reached on the same day a bend in the river about nine miles below, on the left or eastern bank of which lay a large boulder, nearly twenty-two feet in length by fourteen in breadth, on the inclined face of which were rude inscriptions, evidently of Indian workmanship, representing by various symbols the triumphs of the race in war and in the chase. It was regarded by the natives attached to the expedition as an "Indian God,"

and held in superstitious reverence. It was a well-known landmark, and did not fail to arrest the attention of the French. Céloron deemed it a favorable point at which to bury his second leaden plate. This was done with due form and ceremony, the plate bearing an inscription similar to that on the first, differing only in the date and designation of the place of deposit Céloron's record is as follows: "*Août 3me*, 1749. *Enterré une plaque de plomb sur la rive méridionale de la rivière Oyo, à 4 lieues, au dessous de la rivière aux boeufs, vis-a-vis une montagne pellé, et auprès d'une grosse pierre, sur laquelle on voit plusieurs figures assez grossièrement gravées.*" "Buried a leaden plate on the south bank of the Ohio river, four leagues below the river *Aux Boeufs*, opposite a bald mountain, and near a large stone, on which are many figures rudely engraved."

Father Bonnecamps states the deposit to have been made *under* a large rock. An excellent view of the rock in question, with a *fac-simile* of the hieroglyphics on its face, may be found in Schoolcraft's work on the "Indian Tribes in the United States," Vol. VI, pp. 172. It was drawn by Captain Eastman of the U. S. Army while standing waist deep in the river, its banks being then nearly full. At the time of the spring and fall freshets the rock is entirely submerged. The abrasion of its exposed surface by ice and flood-wood in winter has almost obliterated the rude carvings. At the time of Céloron's visit it was entirely uncovered. It is called "Hart's rock" on Hutchings' Topographical Map of Virginia. The distance of "four leagues" from the mouth of the river Aux Boeufs,

or French Creek, to the rock, as given by Céloron, is, as usual, a little exaggerated. The actual distance by the windings of the river is about nine miles. The league as used by Céloron may be estimated as containing about two miles and a-half. The leaden plate deposited at this point has never been found, and some zealous antiquarian living in the vicinity might, from the record now given, be able to restore it to light, after a repose of more than a century and a quarter.

From this station Céloron sent Joncaire forward to Attigué the next day, to announce the approach of the expedition, it being an Indian settlement of some importance on the left bank of the river, between eight and nine leagues farther down, containing twenty-two cabins. Before reaching Attigué they passed a river three or four leagues from the Aux Boeufs, the confluence of which with the Alleghany is described as "very beautiful," and a league farther down another, having on its upper waters some villages of Loups and Iroquois.

Attigué was probably on or near the Kiskiminitas river, which falls into the south side of the Alleghany about twenty-five miles above Pittsburgh. It is called the river d'Attigué by Montcalm, in a letter dated in 1758.[1] There were several Indian villages on its banks at that date. They reached Attigué on the sixth, where they found Joncaire waiting. Embarking together they passed on the right an old "Chaouanons" (Shawnees) village. It had not been occupied by the Indians since the removal

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., IX, 1025; X, Ib., 901.

of Chartier and his band to the river Vermillion in the Wabash country in 1745, by order of the Marquis De Beauharnois. Leaving Attigué the next day, they passed a village of Loups, all the inhabitants of which, except three Iroquois and an old woman who was regarded as a queen, and devoted to the English, had fled in alarm to Chiningué. This village of the Loups, Céloron declares to be the finest he saw on the river. It must have been situated at or near the present site of Pittsburgh. The description of the place, like many given by Céloron, is so vague that it is impossible to identify it with any certainty. The clear, bright current of the Alleghany, and the sluggish, turbid stream of the Monongahela, flowing together to form the broad Ohio, their banks clothed in luxuriant summer foliage, must have presented to the voyagers a scene strikingly picturesque, one which would hardly have escaped the notice of the chief of the expedition. If, therefore, the allusion to "the finest place on the river" has no reference to the site of Pittsburgh, then no mention is made of it whatever. On landing three leagues farther down, they were told by some of their Indians that they had passed a rock on which were some inscriptions. Father Bonnecamps and Joncaire, who were sent to examine it, reported nothing but some English names written in charcoal. This was near the second *entrepôt* of the English.

Their camp being only two leagues above Chiningué, they were enabled to reach the latter the next day. They found the village one of the largest on the river, consisting

of fifty cabins of Iroquois, Shawnees and Loups; also Iroquois from the Sault St. Louis and Lake of the Two Mountains, with some Nippissingues, Abenakis and Ottawas. Bonnecamps estimated the number of cabins at eighty, and says, "we called it Chiningué, from its vicinity to a river of that name." He records its latitude as 40° 35′ 10″ which is nearly correct, and longitude as 80° 19′. The place was subsequently known as "Logstown," a large and flourishing village which figures prominently in Indian history for many years after this period. Colonel Crogan, who was sent to the Ohio Indians by Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, in August, 1749, mentions in his journal that "Monsieur Celaroon with two hundred French soldiers had passed through Logstown just before his arrival.[1]" Crogan inquired of the inhabitants the object of the expedition, and was told by them that "it was to drive the English away, and by burying iron plates, with inscriptions on them at the mouth of each remarkable creek, to steal away their country."

On reaching Chiningué Céloron found several English traders established there, whom he compelled to leave. He wrote by them to Governor Hamilton, under date of August 6th, 1749, that he was surprised to find English traders on French territory, it being in contravention of solemn treaties, and hoped the Governor would forbid their trespassing in future. De Céloron also made a speech, in which he informed the Indians that "he was on his way

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., VII, p. 267.

down the Ohio to whip home the Twightwees and Wyandots for trading with the English." They treated his speech with contempt, insisting that "to separate them from the English would be like cutting a man into halves, and expecting him to live.[1]" The Indians were found so unfriendly to the French, and suspicious of the objects of the expedition, as to embarass the movements of De Céloron. His Iroquois and Abenaki allies refused to accompany him further than Chiningué. They destroyed the plates which, bearing the arms of the French king, had been affixed to trees as memorials of his sovereignty.

After leaving Chiningué, they passed two rivers, one on either side, and crossing the present boundary line between Pennsylvania and Ohio, reached the river Kanououara early on the 13th. Here they interred the third leaden plate, with the usual inscription and customary ceremonies. The blank in the plate was filled as follows: "*Enterré à l'entrée de la rivière, et sur la rive Septentrionale de Kanououara, qui se décharge a l'est de la rivière Oyo.*" "Buried at the mouth and on the north bank of the river Kanououara, which empties into the easterly side of the Ohio river." Neither Céloron nor Bonnecamps gives such a description of the locality as to warrant a positive identification of the site. The plate was probably buried on the northerly bank of Wheeling creek, at its junction with the Ohio, in the present state of Virginia, and near where Fort Henry

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., VI, pp. 532-3.

was subsequently built in 1774. No vestige of the plate has been discovered so far as known.

The expedition resumed its voyage on the 14th, passing the mouths of three streams, twoon the left and one on the right. Deer abounded along the banks. Two of the rivers are stated to be strikingly beautiful at their junction with the Ohio. On the 15th they arrived at the mouth of the Muskingum, called by Father Bonnecamps Yenanguá-konnan, and encamped on the shore. Here the fourth leaden plate was buried on the right bank of that river, at its junction with the Ohio. Céloron describes the place of deposit as follows: "*Enterré au pied d'un érable, qui forme trépied avec une chêne rouge et un orme, à l'entrée de la rivière Yenanguakonan, sur la rive occidentale de cette rivière.*" "Buried at the foot of a maple, which forms a triangle with a red oak and elm, at the mouth of the river Yenanguakonan, and on its western bank."

In 1798, half a century later, some boys, who were bathing at the mouth of the Muskingum, discovered something projecting from the perpendicular face of the river bank, three or four feet below the surface. With the aid of a pole they loosened it from its bed, and found it to be a leaden plate, stamped with letters in an unknown language. Unaware of its historic value, and being in want of lead, then a scarce article in the new country, they carried it home and cast a part of it into bullets. News of the discovery of so curious a relic having reached the ears of a resident of Marietta, he obtained possession of it, and found the inscription to be in French. The boys

had cut off quite a large part of the inscription, but enough remained to indicate its character. It subsequently passed into the hands of Caleb Atwater, the historian, who sent it to Governor De Witt Clinton. The latter presented it to the Antiquarian Society of Massachusetts, in the library of which it is now deposited. A poor *fac-simile* of the fragment is given in Hildreth's "Pioneer History of the Ohio Valley," at page 20. It appears to have been substantially the same as the other plates which have been discovered, with the exception of a different arrangement of the lines. The place of deposit is given as "*rivière Yenangue*" on the part of the plate which was rescued from the boys. Mr. Atwater, Gov. Clinton and several historians, misled by the similarity between the names "Yenangué" and "Venango," supposed that it had originally been deposited at Venango, an old Indian town at the mouth of French creek in Pennsylvania, one hundred and thirty miles above the mouth of the Muskingum, and had been carried down by a freshet, or removed by some party to the place where it was discovered. The Journal of De Céloron removes all doubt on the subject, and conclusively establishes the fact that the plate was originally deposited where it was found, on the site where old Fort Harmer was subsequently built, and opposite the point where the village of Marietta is now situated.

After the deposit of the fourth plate was completed, the expedition broke up their forest camp, embarked in their canoes, and resumed the descent of the river. About three-quarters of a mile below the Muskingum, Father Bonne-

camps took some observations, and found the latitude to be 39° 36′, and the longitude 81° 20′ west of Paris. They accomplished twelve leagues on the 16th, and on the 17th, embarking early, they passed two fine rivers, one on each side, the names of which are not given. On the 18th, after an early start, they were arrested by the rain at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, which is called by Father Bonnecamps "Chinodaichta." The bank of this large stream, flowing from the south-east, and draining an extensive territory, was chosen for the deposit of the fifth plate. Only a brief record of the ceremony is given. A copy of the inscription is omitted by Céloron, but his record of the interment of the plate is as follows: "*Enterrée au pied d'un orme, sur la rive meridionale de l'Oyo, et la rive orientale de Chinondaista, le* 18 *Août*, 1749." "Buried at the foot of an elm on the south bank of the Ohio, and on the east bank of the Chinondaista, the 18th day of August, 1749."

Fortunately the discovery of the plate in March, 1846, leaves no doubt of the inscription. It was found by a boy while playing on the margin of the Kenewha river. Like that at the mouth of the Muskingum, it was projecting from the river bank, a few feet below the surface. Since the time it was buried, an accumulation of soil had been deposited above it by the annual river freshets for nearly one hundred years. The day of the deposit, as recorded on the plate, corresponds precisely with the one stated by De Céloron. The spelling of the Indian name of the river differs slightly from the Journal, that on the plate being

"Chinodahichetha." Kenawha, the Indian name of the river in another dialect, is said to signify "the river of the woods." The place selected by Céloron for the interment of the plate must have been one of surpassing beauty. The native forest, untouched by the pioneer, and crowned with the luxuriant foliage of Northern Kentucky, covered the banks of both rivers, and the picturesque scenery justified the name of "Point Pleasant," which was afterwards bestowed by the early settlers. On the 16th day of October, 1774, it became the scene of a bloody battle between an army of Virginians, commanded by Colonel Lewis, and a large force of western Indians, under the leadership of the celebrated Cornstalk, Logan and others, in which the latter were defeated.[1]

The expedition was detained at this point by the rain. It re-embarked on the 20th, and when they had proceeded about three leagues, Father Bonnecamps took the latitude and longitude, which he records at 38° 39′ 57″ for the former, and 82° 01′ for the latter. Joncaire was sent forward the next day with two chiefs from the Sault St. Louis and two Abenakis, to propitiate the inhabitants of "St. Yotoc," a village they were now approaching. They embarked early on the morning of the 22d, and reached St. Yotoc the same day. This village was composed of Shawnees, Iroquois, Loups, and Miamis, and Indians from the Sault St. Louis, Lake of the Two Mountains, as well as representatives from nearly all the nations of the "upper country." The name "St. Yotoc" seems to be neither

[1] See Vol. I, pp. 747, Magazine of American History.

French nor Indian. It is probably a corruption of Scioto. Father Bonnecamps calls it "Sinhioto" on his map. He records the latitude of the south bank of the Ohio, opposite its mouth, at 38° 50′ 24″, and the longitude 82° 22′. Pouchot, in his "*Mémoires sur la dernière guerre*," French edition, Vol. III, page 182, calls the river "Sonhioto." This village of St. Yotoc, or Scioto, was probably on the north bank of the Ohio, a little below the mouth of the Scioto, now the site of Alexandria. Its principal inhabitants were Shawnees.

The expedition remained here until the 26th of August. On the 27th they proceeded as far as the Rivière La Blanche, or White river, which they reached at ten at night. On the bank of the Ohio, opposite the mouth of this river, Bonnecamps found the latitude to be 39° 12′ 01″, and the longitude 83° 31′. Embarking on the 30th, they passed the great north bend of the Ohio, and reached the Rivière à la Roche, now known as the Great Miami. Here their voyage on the Ohio ended, and they turned their little fleet of bark gondolas northward into the channel of its great tributary.

The sixth and last of the leaden plates was buried at this place. The text of Céloron's Journal reads as follows: "*Enterrée sur la pointe formée par la rive droite de l'Ohio, et la rive gauche de la rivière à la Roche, Août* 31, 1749." "Buried on the point formed by the intersection of the right bank of the Ohio, with the left bank of the Rock river, August 31, 1749." So far as known, this plate has never been discovered. Céloron calls the Great Miami

the Rivière à la Roche, and Pouchot, quoted above, and other French writers give it the same name.

The expedition left its encampment at the mouth of this river on the first day of September, and began the toilsome ascent of the stream, now greatly diminished by the summer drought. On the 13th they arrived at "Demoiselles," which Father Bonnecamps, with his constant companion the Astrolabe, found to be in latitude 40° 23′ 12″, and longitude 83° 29′. This was the residence of La Demoiselle, a chief of a portion of the Miamis who were allies of the English.[1] The fort and village of La Demoiselle were mentioned by M. De Longueil in 1752. It was probably situated on what was afterwards known as Loramies Creek, the earliest point of English settlement in Ohio. It became quite noted in the subsequent history of the Indian wars, and was destroyed by General Clark in his expedition of 1782. A fort was built on the site several years afterwards by General Wayne, which he named Fort Loramie. Here the French remained a week to recruit, and prepare for the portage to the Maumee. Having burned their canoes, and obtained some ponies, they set out on their overland journey. In arranging for the march, M. De Céloron took command of the right, and M. De Contrecœur of the left. The distance was estimated by Céloron as fifty leagues, and five and a-half days were allotted for its accomplishment.[2]

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., X, pp. 139, 142, 245 and 247.

[2] Major Long of the U. S. Army, in his second expedition to the St. Peter's river in 1823, traveled over the same route.

They completed the portage on the 25th, and arrived at Kiskakon. This appears to be the Indian name for the site of Fort Wayne, which was built there in 1794. Céloron found it a French post, under the command of M. De Raymond. It undoubtedly took the name of Kiskakon, from a branch of Ottawas that removed to this place from Missillimackinac, where they resided as late as 1682. It was here that De Céloron provided pirogues and provisions for the descent of the Maumee to Lake Erie. The Miami Chief "Pied Froid," or Coldfoot resided in the village. He appears not to have been very constant in his allegiance either to the French or the English.

Leaving Kiskakon on the 27th of September, a part of the expedition went overland to Detroit, and the remainder descended the river by canoe. The latter landed near Detroit on the 6th of October. Having renewed his supplies and canoes for the transportation of his detachment, Céloron prepared for the return to Montreal by way of Lake Erie. His Indian allies, as usual, occasioned some delay. They had stopped at the mouth of the Maumee, and were overcome by a drunken debauch on the white man's fire water. It was not until the 8th of October that the party finally launched their canoes, and descended the river into Lake Erie. Their first night was spent on its northern shore at Point Pellée. Nothing worthy of note occurred during their traverse of the lake. They reached Fort Niagara on the 19th, where they remained three days. Leaving there on the 22d, they coasted the south shore of Lake Ontario, and arrived at

Fort Frontenac on the 6th of November, their canoes badly shattered by the autumnal gales, and their men greatly fatigued with the hardships of the voyage. They pushed on, however, with as little delay as possible to Montreal, which they reached on the 10th of October, having, according to the estimate of both De Céloron and Father Bonnecamps, traveled at least twelve hundred leagues.

Allusion has been made to the changes which took place in the Ohio Valley prior to the expedition of De Céloron. Those which have since occurred are no less remarkable. Both the French and the English continued equally determined to possess the country north of the Ohio. The former stretched a chain of posts from Niagara to the Mississippi, as a barrier against English encroachments, and to exclude the Indians from their influence and control. To counteract these demonstrations, Gist was sent by the Ohio Company in 1750 to survey its lands preliminary to their occupation and settlement. In 1753 Washington was despatched by Governor Dinwiddie to Venango and Le Bœuf on what proved to be a fruitless mission. A post was established the same year by the English at Pittsburgh, which was captured the next by the French, and called after the Marquis Du Quesne. It was occupied by the latter until retaken by General Forbes in 1756.

This was followed the next year by an expedition under Washington, who at the age of twenty-two drew his maiden sword at the Great Meadows in an encounter with a detachment of French under Jumonville, which resulted in the death of the latter. Washington pushed on farther

west, but the advance of the enemy with strong reinforcements compelled him to fall back to the Great Meadows, which he strengthened and fortified, under the significant name of Fort Necessity. Here he was attacked by the French under Coulon de Villiers, a brother of Jumonville, with a vigor inspired by the desire of avenging his brother's death. Washington was compelled to capitulate. The French were thus enabled to acquire complete control for the time being over the disputed territory. Thus was the opening scene in the great drama of the "Old French War" enacted. The disastrous defeat of Braddock followed the next year, and exposed the whole frontier to the hostile incursions of the French and Indians.

In 1759 the grand scheme for the conquest of Canada, conceived by the illustrious Pitt, was carried into execution. The expeditions of Amherst against Ticonderoga, Wolfe against Quebec, and Prideaux against Niagara, resulted in the fall of those important fortresses. Major Rogers was sent to the North-west in 1760 to receive possession of the French posts, which had been surrendered to the English by the capitulation of Quebec. He was met at Cuyahoga by Pontiac, the Ottawa, who forbade his farther progress. "I stand," says he, "in your path; you can march no farther without my permission." A friend to the French, a leader in the attack on Braddock, ambitious and vindictive, Pontiac was a chief of commanding intellect and well qualified for bold enterprises and strategic combinations. These qualities were indicated in his great conspiracy for the simultaneous capture of the ten princi-

pal posts in the North-west, and the massacre of the English trading in their vicinity. Eight of those posts, embracing Sandusky, St. Joseph, Miami, Ouatanon, Mackinaw, Presque Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango successively fell before the deep laid plans of the wily chieftain. Forts Pitt and Detroit successfully withstood the most vigorous assaults, and the latter a protracted siege conducted by Pontiac himself.

Now war in all its horrors raged with savage intensity along the entire frontier. The unprotected settlers, men, women and children, were massacred, and scalped, or if spared, borne away into a hopeless captivity. The English colonists were aroused to meet the emergency, and Colonel Bouquet was sent in 1763 with a large force into the Indian territory to relieve the western posts, but was compelled to halt at Pittsburgh.

The succeeding spring found the Indians again on the war-path, and Detroit was invested for the second time by Pontiac. An expedition was sent to the North-western posts under Bradstreet, and another under Bouquet penetrated the interior of Ohio. Bradstreet was duped by his crafty adversaries into a peace not intended to be kept, but Bouquet undeceived by similar artifices, pushed on to the heart of the Indian country. At the junction of the White Woman and Tuscarawas rivers he dictated a peace by his bold and energetic movements, which, with the exception of occasional outbreaks, was destined to last until the commencement of the great contest between the colonists and the mother country.

The treaty of 1783 left the western tribes without an ally, and the United States became free to extend the arts of peace over their new territory. The pioneers shouldered the axe and the rifle, and marching westward in solid column, invaded the land. The frail canoe and sluggish batteau, which had so long and wearily contended with the adverse currents of the Ohio, were soon replaced by the power of steam. The dense forests that for a thousand miles had fringed both borders of the river were opened to the sunlight, and thriving cities and smiling villages arose on the ruins of the mound builders. The narrow trails of the Indian, deep worn for centuries by the tread of hunter and warrior, were now superseded by the iron rail and broad highway. The hardy emigrants and their descendants subdued the wilderness, and with the church, the schoolhouse, the factory and the plough planted a civilization on the ruins of a fallen barbarism.

The dominion and power of France have disappeared, and no traces of her lost sovereignty exist, save in the few names she has left on the prominent streams and landmarks of the country, and in the leaden plates which, inscribed in her language and asserting her claims, still lie buried on the banks of the "Beautiful River."

THE NIAGARA FRONTIER.

EMBRACING SKETCHES OF ITS EARLY HISTORY, AND INDIAN, FRENCH AND ENGLISH LOCAL NAMES.[1]

JAMES CARTIER, while exploring the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1535, was informed by the savages, living on its borders, that a mighty river, which they called Hochelaga, flowed into the sea near by, from a vast distance in the interior.[2] Having discovered its mouth, he explored the stream as far as the site of the present city of Montreal. He inquired of the Indians whom he met on the way, touching the source of that great river and the country through which it flowed. He was told, that after ascending many leagues among rapids and water-falls he would reach a lake, one hundred and fifty leagues long and forty or fifty broad, at the western extremity of which the waters were wholesome and the winters mild; that a river emptied into it from the south, which had its source in the country of the Iroquois; that beyond this lake he would find a cataract

[1] Read before the Buffalo Historical Society, February 27, 1865.

[2] Lescarbot, p. 300.

and portage; then another lake about equal to the former, which they had never explored; and, still further on, a sea, the western shores of which they had never seen, nor had they heard of any one who had.

This is the earliest historical notice of our great lake region.[1]

Cartier was followed, after a long interval, by French traders, adventurers and missionaries; who, stimulated by love of adventure or the attractions of the fur trade, or inspired by religious zeal, were the first to penetrate the Canadian wilderness, and encounter the privations and dangers incident to the exploration of the vast interior of North America.

Before the Pilgrims landed in New England, Champlain had wintered among the savages on the eastern shore of Lake Huron, and had crossed Lake Ontario with an expedition against the Iroquois in the central part of our State.[2]

As one after another of the principal lakes and rivers of the New World were discovered, they were called in honor of some tutelary saint or patron, some king or noble. The early travelers not only rejected their aboriginal names, but, in many instances, failed even to mention them. The series of lakes on our northern border, were originally considered as expansions of one continuous river, called by the old geographers Saint

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[1] Lescarbot, p. 381.

[2] Voyages de Champlain, Part i, p. 251. Edition of 1632.

Lawrence, in honor of the martyr, on the day of whose festival the noble gulf at its outlet was discovered.

During the three centuries which have elapsed since that event took place, two distinct races have successively occupied and disappeared from this locality, now in the undisputable possession of a third.

The traveler in the classic regions of the Old World, encounters, at every step, venerable monuments and crumbling ruins; silent but elegant memorials of those who have risen, flourished, and disappeared in the revolutions of time. The Indian, once lord of this New World, now a tenant at the will of the white man, was skilled in none but the rudest arts. He roamed, a child of nature, over the forest and prairie, absorbed in his ceaseless struggle for a precarious subsistence on the fruits of the chase. He built no monuments and has left no records, from which we may learn the story of his origin, his migrations, his bloody wars and fruitless conquests. The only light which shines upon its annals, is, at best, a dim and shadowy tradition. Scarce a memorial of his former occupancy remains, save the *names* he has bestowed upon the lakes, rivers and prominent landmarks of the country. The Iroquois dialects still live in their melodious geographical terms, suggesting a sad contrast between their former proud and extensive dominion and their present feeble and reduced condition.

There is no satisfactory evidence of the existence, in this vicinity, of a race preceding the Indians. The

"mound-builders," that mysterious people who once spread in countless multitudes over the valleys of the Ohio, the Mississippi, and their tributaries, never, so far as diligent research has been able to discover, dwelt in this locality. The ancient fortifications, tumuli, and artificial structures that abound in Western New York, can all be referred to a later date and a more modern race. But at what precise period, and by what particular people they were constructed, are questions which have hitherto eluded the most diligent historical research. The Senecas are equally ignorant on this subject. The venerable Seneca White, a distinguished Iroquois chief residing on the Cattaraugus Reservation, now eighty-one years old,[1] expressed his curiosity on the subject, in a recent interview with the writer; and desired to know when, why and by whom those structures had been built. Many of them may yet be seen within a few miles of our city, and are certainly objects of historical interest and speculation.

Omitting, therefore, from necessity, any notice of the race, of whom those remains are the only memorial, we find that the first in this locality, of whom history makes mention, were the Attiouandaronk, or Neutral Nation, called Kah-kwas by the Senecas.[2] They had their coun-

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[1] He died since the above was written, on the 19th May, 1873.—Ed.

[2] It has been assumed by many writers that the Kah-kwas and Eries were identical. This is not so. The latter, according to the most reliable authorities, lived south of the western extremity of

cil-fires along the Niagara, but principally on its western side. Their hunting grounds extended from the Genesee nearly to the eastern shores of Lake Huron, embracing a wide and important territory. In this region, now teeming with Anglo-Saxon life, they reared their rude wigwams, pursued their game, and preserved a rigid and singular neutrality between the fierce tribes that waged their bloody wars on all sides around them. They are first mentioned by Champlain during his winter visit to the Hurons in 1615, before alluded to, but he was unable to visit their territory. According to the early Jesuits, they excelled the Hurons in stature, strength and symmetry, and wore their dress with a superior grace. They regarded their dead with peculiar veneration. Once in every ten years the survivors of each family gathered the remains of their deceased ancestors from the platforms on which they had been deposited, and buried them in heaps, with many superstitious ceremonies. This was called the "Feast of the Dead." Many of the mounds thus raised may still be seen in this vicinity. A conspicuous one on Tonawanda Island, is affirmed by the old Senecas to have had such an origin. The land of the Neutral Nation is described by the Jesuits as producing an abundance of corn, beans, and other vegetables; their rivers as abound-

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Lake Erie until they were destroyed by the Iroquois, in 1655. The Kah-kwas were exterminated by them as early as 1651. On Coronelli's map, published in 1688, one of the villages of the latter, called "Kakouagoga, *a destroyed nation*," is located at or near the site of Buffalo.

ing in fish of endless variety, and their forests as filled with a profusion of game, yielding the richest furs.

The peace which this peculiar people had so long maintained with the Iroquois was destined to be broken. Some jealousies and collisions occurred in 1647, which culminated in open war in 1650. One of the villages of the Neutral Nation, nearest the Senecas and not far from the site of our city, was captured in the autumn of the latter year, and another the ensuing spring.[1] So well directed and energetic were the blows of the Iroquois, that the total destruction of the Neutral Nation was speedily accomplished. All the old men and children who were unable to follow their captors, were put to death; but the women were reserved to supply the waste occasioned by the war. The survivors were adopted by their conquerors; and, as late as 1669, a small remnant was found by the Jesuit, Father Fremin, living within the limits of the present county of Ontario.

Such were the predecessors of the Senecas. A little more than two centuries have elapsed since they lived and flourished in this locality, and no evidence of their occupancy now exists, save the rude mounds which mark their final resting places. Scarce a trace of their language remains, and we know only that they spoke a dialect kindred to that of the Senecas. Blotted out from among the nations, they have left one conspicuous and enduring

[1] Relation des Jesuites, 1651, p. 4.

memorial of their existence, in the name of the beautiful and noble river that divides their ancient domain.[1]

A long period intervened between the destruction of the Neutral Nation and the permanent occupation of their country by the Senecas. For more than a century, this beautiful region was abandoned to the undisturbed dominion of nature, save when traversed by the warrior on his predatory errand or the hunter in pursuit of game. A dense and unexplored wilderness extended from the Genesee to the Niagara; with but here and there an interval, where the oak openings let in the sunlight, or the prairie lured the deer and the elk to crop its luxuriant herbage.

The Senecas continued to live east of the Genesee, in four principal villages, until the year 1687, when the Marquis De Nonville, then Governor of Canada, invaded their country with a powerful army; and, after defeating them near the site of Victor, in Ontario County, drove them from their burning villages and laid waste their territories.[2] The humbled Senecas, influenced by superstition, never built a solitary cabin. Their abandoned homes long bore witness to that most disastrous era in the history of the confederacy. We next find them in scattered villages on the banks of their favorite Je-nis'-hi-yuh;[3] in the

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[1] See "Last of the Kah-Kwas," Vol. I, p. 43.—Ed.

[2] N. Y. Historical Collections, second series, Vol. II, p. 180.

[3] Or Genesee, signifying *beautiful, pleasant valley.* The key to the pronunciation of the Seneca names will be found in the Appendix.

fertile valley of which they resumed the cultivation of the maize, and recovered, in some degree, their former power and influence.

During the Revolutionary war they espoused the British cause. The atrocities they committed in their savage mode of warfare, culminated in 1778 in the memorable massacre at Wyoming; and induced General Washington, in imitation of De Nonville, to send an army for their chastisement. The famous expedition under General Sullivan was organized for this purpose in 1779; which, penetrating the heart of the Seneca country, resulted, for the time being, in their overthrow and complete dispersion. The proud and formidable nation fled, panic-stricken, from their "pleasant valley," abandoned their villages, and sought British protection under the guns of Fort Niagara. They never, as a nation, resumed their ancient seats along the Genesee, but sought and found a new home on the secluded banks and among the basswood forests of the Do'-syo-wă, or Buffalo Creek, whence they had driven the Neutral Nation one hundred and thirty years before.

I have thus, with as much brevity as the nature of my subject would admit, noticed the aboriginal races that preceded us in the occupancy of this region. I consider this as an appropriate introduction to a historical sketch of the most prominent localities on the Niagara frontier, and of the various names by which they have been known.

On the sixth day of December, 1678, a brigantine of ten tons, doubled the point where Fort Niagara now stands,

and anchored in the sheltered waters of the river.[1] It had been sent at that inclement season from Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, by the Sieur De la Salle, in prosecution of the bold enterprises conceived by the intrepid discoverer, involving the exploration of a vast and unknown country, in vessels built on the way. The crew consisted of sixteen persons, under the command of the Sieur De la Mott. "*Te Deum laudamus!*" arose from the deck of the vessel, as it entered the noble river. The strains of that ancient hymn of the church as they echoed from shore and forest, must have startled the watchful Senecas as they gazed upon their strange visitors. Never before had white man, so far as history tells us ascended the river. On its borders, the roving Indian still contended for supremacy with the scarce wilder beasts of the forest. All was yet primitive and unexplored. Dense woods overhung the banks, except at the site of the present fort, or at the Indian village opposite, where a few temporary cabins sheltered some fishing-parties of the Senecas. The stream in which the French were now anchored, they called by its Indian name, Niagara. It is the oldest of all the local geographical terms which have come down to us from the aborigines. It was not at first thus written by the English; for with them it passed through almost every possible alphabetical variation before its present orthography was established.[2] We

[1] Hennepin, p. 74, Edition of 1698.

[2] *Thirty-nine* different modes of spelling Niagara are enumerated by Dr. O'Callaghan, N. Y. Colonial Documents, Index Volume, p, 465.

find its germ in the On gui-aah-ra of the Neutral Nation, as given by Father L'Allemant, in a letter dated in 1641, at the mission-station of Sainte Marie, on Lake Huron. In describing his visit to that people, he says: "From their first village, which is about forty leagues southerly from Sainte Marie, it is four days travel in a south-easterly direction, to where the celebrated river of the Neutral Nation empties into Lake Ontario. On the west and not on the eastern side of said river, are the principal villages of that nation. There are three or four on the eastern side, extending from east to west toward the Eries or Cat Nation. This river," he adds, "is that by which our great lake of the Hurons is discharged, after having emptied into Lake Erie, or Lake of the Cat Nation, and it takes the name of On-gui-aah-ra, until it empties into Ontario or St. Louis Lake.[1]

The name of the river next occurs on Sanson's map of Canada, published in Paris in 1656, where it is spelled "Ongiara." Its first appearance as Niagara, is on Coronelli's map, published in Paris in 1688. From that time to the present, the French have been consistent in their orthography, the numerous variations alluded to, occuring only among English writers. The word was probably derived from the Mohawks, through whom the French had their first intercourse with the Iroquois. The Mohawks pronounce it Nyah'-ga-ra*h'*, with the primary accent on the first syllable, and the secondary on the last. Some controversy has existed concerning its signification.

[1] Relation, 1641, p. 71.

It is probably the same both in the Neutral and Mohawk languages, as they were kindred dialects of one generic tongue. The Mohawks affirm it to mean *neck*, in allusion to its connecting the two lakes. The corresponding Seneca name, Nya*h*'-gaa*h*,[1] was always confined by the Iroquois to the section of the river below the Falls, and to Lake Ontario. That portion of the river above the Falls[2] being sometimes called Gai-gwăă*h* gĕ*h*,—one of their names for Lake Erie.

The name Niagara was sometimes applied, by the early historians, not only to the river, but to a defensive work and group of Indian cabins, which stood at or near the site of the present village of Lewiston. La Salle constructed, at this point, a cabin of palisades to serve as a magazine or storehouse. In order to allay the jealousies which the work excited among the Senecas, he sent an embassy to Tegarondies, the principal village of the confederacy, then located on what is now known as Boughton Hill, near Victor, in Ontario County. They reached it in five days, after a march in mid-winter of thirty-two leagues on snowshoes, during which they subsisted only on parched corn. There they found the Jesuits, Garnier and Raffeix, who had been resident missionaries since 1669. A council was held with the Senecas, and presents interchanged, but without favorable result. The French retraced their steps to their camp on the river, worn out

[1] The signification of this Seneca word is lost. It is probably derived from the name conferred by the Neutral Nation.

[2] N. Y. Colonial Documents, Vol. V., p. 800, and IX., p. 999.

with the hardships of the way, and glad to exchange their meagre diet for the delicious white-fish just then in season.[1]

No regular defensive work was constructed in the vicinity, until the Marquis De Nonville, on his return from the expedition before alluded to, fortified the tongue of land which lies between the lake and river, and thus founded the present fort. The French General describes the position as "the most beautiful, pleasing and advantageous on the whole lake." As early as 1686, he had proposed to his Government to erect a stone structure at this point, sufficient for a garrison of five hundred men, but received no favorable response. Many difficulties were encountered in the erection of the new fortress. As the place was barren of suitable wood, palisades were cut at a distance, floated to the adjacent beach, and drawn up, with great labor, to the top of the bank. The work was finally completed, and called, after its founder, Fort De Nonville. It subsequently appears on some of the maps as Fort Conty, after a prince of that name, who was a patron of Tonti, one of La Salle's companions; but Niagara soon became its exclusive and more appropriate designation. De Nonville left in the fort a garrison of one hundred men, who were compelled by sickness to abandon it the following season, after having partially destroyed it. They left many of its buildings in a habitable condition, as may be learned from a curious inventory and statement

[1] For a detailed account of this expedition, by the same author, see Vol. I., p. 260.—Ed.

drawn up at the time of the evacuation.[1] No measures appear to have been taken for its reconstruction until 1725; when, by consent of the Iroquois, it was commenced in stone, and finished the following year. The "old mess-house" is a relic of that year.

The French having, through the influence of Joncaire, obtained the consent of the Senecas, rebuilt their store house at Lewiston, in 1719–20. It formed a block-house forty feet long, by thirty wide, enclosed with palisades, musket proof, and pierced with port-holes. Around this nucleus gathered a cluster of ten Seneca cabins; and patches of corn, beans, squashes and melons were soon under cultivation. Father Charlevoix visited the spot in 1721, while on his extensive tour along the lakes; and has left quite an exaggerated description of the ridge at Lewiston, which he calls "a frightful mountain, that hides itself in the clouds, on which the Titans might attempt to scale the heavens!"[2]

The block-house must have soon fallen to decay, for we find Louis XV. proposing to rebuild it in 1727,[3] but the project was abandoned the next year.

This locality was always considered an important point in the early history of the Niagara frontier. Here was the commencement of the portage around the Falls, where all the goods in process of transportation between the lakes

[1] N. Y. Colonial Documents, Vol. IX., p. 386.

[2] Charlevoix's Journal, Vol. II., p. 345.

[3] N. Y. Colonial Documents, Vol. IX., p. 964.

underwent transhipment. The traveled road pursued, as now, a zig-zag course up the mountain ridge; but the heavy goods were raised or lowered in a sliding car or cradle, moved on an inclined plane by a windlass. The remains of the old tram-way were visible at a late period, and, possibly, may still be seen. The ascent of the ledge at this point was so difficult, that long before the railway was constructed, the Senecas called it Du*h'*-jih-he*h'*-oh, which signifies, literally, *walking on all fours*; in allusion to the postures assumed by the French and Indians while climbing the steep acclivity under their heavy burdens. Hennepin calls it "the three mountains," *trois montagnes*[1] referring to the high river-bank and the two terraces above it, which form the mountain ridge. When Kalm arrived there in 1750, he found one of the Joncaires still a resident. Over two hundred Senecas were then employed in carrying furs over the portage, at the rate of twenty pence a pack for the entire distance.[2] There were three warehouses at the foot of the ridge in 1759, and one at its summit; all used for storing the goods *in transitu*.

Opposite Fort Niagara, on the Canada side of the river, is Mississauga Point, so called after one of the Algonkin tribes that formerly resided in the vicinity.[3] The present

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[1] Hennepin, p. 113. Edition 1698.

[2] Kalm's letter in Annual Register, Vol. II., p. 389.

[3] An Indian village existed here at the time of La Salle's first visit in 1679.

village of Niagara was known in 1780, by the name of Butlersbury, after Colonel Butler, of Wyoming notoriety,[1] It was afterward called Newark, after the place of that name in New Jersey, and West Niagara and British Niagara. In 1792, it became the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Canada, and in the autumn of that year, the first session of the Parliament of the Upper Province was held there. It is an older settlement than any on the eastern side of the river, and boasted a weekly newspaper as early as 1793.[2] About one mile above Newark, a defensive work was built by the British, at the close of the last century, called Fort George. Between this and the river was a storehouse, bearing the high sounding name of Navy Hall; and near the latter stood the residence of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe.

Queenston, so called in honor of Queen Charlotte, had no earlier name, though the locality was frequently noticed by the first explorers. Hennepin speaks of it as "the great rock," *la grosse roche*,[3] referring to an immense mass, which, becoming detached from the brow of the mountain, had fallen into the river below. It is now plainly visible under the western end of the lower suspension bridge.

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[1] Gilbert's narrative, p. 52. Col. Butler died in 1796. Merritt's MS.

[2] Called the Upper Canada Gazette, or, American Oracle. The first number appeared April 18, 1793.

[3] Hennepin, p. 113. Edition 1698.

The Devil's Hole and the Whirlpool are not noticed by any of the early travelers. The former is more particularly celebrated as the scene of a well known bloody tragedy, in 1763. Its Seneca name, Dyus-dä'-nyah-goh, signifies, *the cleft rocks*.[1] The Bloody Run, which falls over the precipice at this point, derives its present name from the same tragic occurrence, though the Indians have no term to distinguish it from the Devil's Hole. Their name for the whirlpool, Dyu-nó-wa-da-se', means, literally, *the current goes round*.

It has already been stated, that the Indians, whom Cartier met in the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1535, alluded, in their description of the interior of the continent, to a "cataract and portage," at the western extremity of Lake Ontario. This is the first historical notice of Niagara Falls. Seventy-eight years afterward, Champlain published an account of his voyages in Canada, illustrated by a map of the country, on which the several lakes, as far west as Lake Huron, are laid down, though in very erroneous outline.[2] It distinctly shows the river Niagara, interrupted by a waterfall, and intersected by an elevation of land, answering to the mountain ridge at Lewiston. It contains no specific name for the cataract, but calls it *saut d'eau*, or *waterfall*. Champlain describes it as "so very high that many kinds of fish are stunned in its descent!"

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[1] The river-bank is *cleft* by the action of the Bloody Run.

[2] Edition of 1632.

The next notice of the cataract is by the Jesuit, Father Ragueneau, who, in a letter to the Superior of the Missions at Paris, dated in 1648, says, "North of the Eries is a great lake, about two hundred leagues in circumference, called Erié, formed by the discharge of the *mer-douce*, or Lake Huron, and which falls into a third lake, called Ontario, over a cataract of frightful height."[1]

Hennepin is the first who published a detailed description of this remarkable waterfall. He first saw it in the winter of 1678–9, and accompanies his description by an engraved sketch,[2] evidently drawn from memory, as it embraces a bird's-eye view of the whole river, as far as Lake Erie, with the *Griffon* in the distance. The two falls, with Goat Island between, and Table Rock, are very well delineated, though the height is much exaggerated. A group of Frenchmen, viewing the cataract from the American side, are represented as stopping their ears to shut out the deafening sound.

No doubt the Falls were visited at an earlier date by numerous traders and *voyageurs*, but no record of the fact exists. The Niagara was not a favorite route to the far west, the Ottawa being shorter and safer for a canoe voyage; an easy portage connecting its head-waters with Lake Huron. The fatiguing transit around the Falls, and the hostility of the warlike Iroquois, were formidable obstacles to the more southern course.

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[1] Jesuit Relations, 1648, p. 46

[2] Hennepin, p 116. Edition of 1698.

The Senecas call the cataract, Det-*gah*-skoh-ses, signifying *the place of the high fall*. They never call it Niagara, nor by any similar term; neither does that word signify in their language *thunder of waters*, as affirmed by Schoolcraft.[1] Such a meaning would be eminently poetic, but truth is of higher importance.

The picturesque Islands which add so much to the beauty and unrivaled scenery of the Falls, must have challenged the admiration and stimulated the curiosity of the early visitor. Equally attractive at all seasons, whether arrayed in summer verdure, autumnal tints or winter dress,[2] they reposed like fairy creations, amid the turmoil of the impetuous rapids, isolated and apparently secure from human intrusion or profanation. Traditions exist of early Indian visits to the larger one, which are confirmed by a deposit of human bones discovered near its head. The access was from the river above, through the still water between the divided currents. Judge Porter first landed there in 1806, and found several dates carved on a beech, the earliest of which was 1769. He purchased the entire group from the State in 1816, and during the following year, built the first bridge which connected them with the main land. Stedman had cleared a small field

[1] Tour to the Lakes, p. 32.

[2] Those who visit Niagara in summer only, see but half its beauties. In winter, the spray, congealed by frost on every tree, bush and rock, glitters with diamond luster in the sunlight; while, in the gulf below, cones, pyramids and towers, immense stalactites and frost-work in every variety of form, are produced by the falling waters.

near the upper end of the largest, and colonized it with a few animals, including a venerable goat. The latter was the only survivor of the severe winter of 1779–80, in commemoration of which the island received its present name. The Boundary Commissioners under the Treaty of Ghent, gave to it the more poetic title, Iris Island, but the earlier one was destined to prevail.

Judge Porter was one of the earliest settlers at the Falls, having erected his first dwelling there in 1809–10. He foresaw the unrivaled advantages of the position, and secured, at an early day, the fee of a large tract of land in the vicinity. In addition to his dwelling, he erected mills on the site where Lieutenant DePeyster built a saw-mill in 1767, and which Stedman subsequently occupied for the same purpose. He also constructed a rope-walk for the manufacture of rigging, for Porter, Barton & Co.,[1] who were then the principal carriers over the portage, and owned or controlled nearly all the trading vessels on the two lakes and river. All kinds of rigging, and cables of the largest size required, were here manufactured. Much of the hemp then used, was raised by the Wadsworths on the Genesee flats. Such was the scarcity of men in the then new country, that the Judge was indebted to Captain Armistead of Fort Niagara, for a company of one hundred men, to assist him in raising the heavy frame of his mill. It proved to be expensive aid, for the soldiers stripped his garden of all its fruit, then

[1] This well known firm was composed of Augustus Porter, Peter B. Porter, Benjamin Barton and Joseph Annin.

very fine and abundant. All his buildings, embracing dwelling, mills and rope walk, shared in the general conflagration on the frontier in 1813.

The village on the American side of the Falls, has been known as Grand Niagara and Manchester, and is now incorporated under the name of Niagara Falls.

Fort Schlosser was named after Capt. Joseph Schlosser, a native of Germany, who served in the British army in the campaign against Fort Niagara in 1759.[1] Sir William Johnson found him at Schlosser in 1761. He must have remained until the autumn of 1763; for it is stated by Loskiel[2] and Heckewelder, that he arrived at Philadelphia in January, 1764, having just returned from Niagara with a detachment from General Gage's army. Heckewelder pays a high tribute to his humanity and manly qualities.[3]

The earlier names of the post were, Fort du Portage, Little Fort and Little Niagara.[4] It was not built until 1750. In the summer of that year, the younger Chabert Joncaire, informed the Senecas that the French government intended to build a fort at the south end of the portage above Niagara Falls. The project was carried into effect the same season, and we find that Joncaire Chauzonne, brother of Chabert, was appointed its com-

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., Vol. X, p. 731, n. 5.

[2] Loskiel's Missions, p. 222.

[3] Heckewelder's Narrative, p. 83.

[4] N. Y. Col. Doc., Vol. VII, p. 621.

mandant.[1] In 1755, it was called Fisher's Battery.[2] When Sir William Johnson invested Fort Niagara in 1759, Chabert Joncaire seems to have been in command at Fort Schlosser, his brother Clauzonne being then with him. On the fall of the former fortress, Fort Schlosser was burnt, and its garrison was withdrawn to the Chippewa river, on the opposite side. It must have been speedily rebuilt by the British, for we find Captain Schlosser stationed there soon after in command of a garrison. The fort then consisted of an enclosure of upright palisades, protecting a few store-houses and barracks. Alexander Henry, who visited it in 1764, calls it a "stockaded post"[3] The plough has obliterated all traces of its existence, save some inequalities in the surface where it stood, plainly visible from the neighboring railroad. The tall, antique chimney which rises from the adjacent buildings, is not, as generally supposed, a relic of the fort, but of barracks, constructed by the French, and destroyed by Joncaire, on his retreat in 1759. The same chimney was subsequently used by the English when they re-established the post. The dwelling they erected was afterwards occupied by Stedman, who was a contractor at the portage from 1760 until after the peace of 1783. He probably remained until after Fort Niagara was delivered to the United States by the British authorities in 1796, when he removed to the Canadian side. He left his "improvements" in charge of a man

[1] Lewis Evans' map.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., Vol. VI, p. 608, 706

[3] Travels, p. 183.

known as Jesse Ware. They are described by a visitor at that early day, as consisting of seventeen hundred acres, about one-tenth partially cleared, an indifferent dwelling, a fine barn, saw-mill, and a well fenced apple orchard containing twelve hundred trees.[1]

There appear to have been three brothers by the name of Stedman—John, Philip and William. The traveler Maude found John at Schlosser in 1800. While master of the portage, he accompanied the wagons and their escort, at the time of the massacre at the Devil's Hole in September, 1763, before alluded to. It was a return train, embracing about ninety persons, under the command of Lieutenant Don Campbell of the Royal American Regiment, which had been transporting supplies from Fort Niagara for the use of the garrison at Detroit. Only three persons escaped; a drummer-boy, by the name of Matthews,[2] who lodged in a tree as he fell over the precipice; a wounded driver, who lay concealed in some evergreens near by; and Stedman himself, who being well mounted, forced his way through the Indians and fled amid a shower of bullets, to Fort Schlosser. Two companies of troops that were stationed at Lewiston, hearing the firing, hastened to their relief. The wily Senecas, anticipating the reinforcement, lay in ambush, and all but eight of the party fell by the rifle or tomahawk. The entire garrison of Fort Niagara were then despatched to the scene, but arrived only to find the ghastly and mangled

[1] Voyage par Hector St. John, Vol. II, p. 153

[2] Matthews died in Canada, near Niagara, in 1821, aged 74.

remains of their slaughtered comrades. The attack was made on the train while it was crossing the small bridge over Bloody Run, so called after the tragedy.

The Seneca Sachem, John Blacksmith, informed the writer that the party which made the attack, were young warriors from the Genesee, who, instigated by the French traders, secretly organized the expedition under the leadership of Farmer's Brother, without the knowledge of their chiefs. Eighty scalps, including those of six officers, were their bloody trophies.

The Senecas, attributing the preservation of Stedman to some miraculous interposition, and believing that he wore a charmed life, conferred upon him the name of *Gă-nas-squah*, signifying *stone giant*. The story that they gave him all the land lying between the river and the line of his flight, embracing about five thousand acres, is undoubtedly a fiction. The pretended grant was the foundation of the "Stedman claim," which was subsequently urged upon the State authorities with much pertinacity. If really made, it seems never to have been ratified by the Senecas, for at a formal treaty made with them by Sir William Johnson at Johnson Hall, in April of the following year, signed by Farmer's Brother and Old Smoke, it was not only not alluded to; but on the contrary, a strip of land four miles wide on the east side of the river, commencing at Lake Ontario and extending southerly to Gill Creek, embracing the entire Stedman claim, was ceded in perpetuity to his Britannic Majesty.[1] Stedman pet-

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., Vol. VII, p. 621.

tioned the Legislature in 1800, to confirm the pretended grant, but without success. He recites in his memorial, that he took possession of the premises in 1760, and soon after met with a great loss from the Indians; that as a compensation therefor, the chiefs gave him a deed of the tract containing 4,983 acres, which he had continued to improve for forty years; that the deed had perished with the papers of Sir William Johnson, which had been buried in an iron chest at Johnson Hall. A bill passed the Assembly, giving him the land he had actually improved, but it failed in the Senate. The buildings on the premises had suffered much from decay as early as 1800, and the adjacent fort was in ruins. The old orchard was still productive, the overplus yield bringing five hundred dollars in a single season; but the boys crossing from the Canada side, plundered most of the fruit.[1]

The portage road commenced at the Lewiston landing, and followed the river until it reached the small depression just north of the present suspension bridge. Diverging from this, it intersected the river above the Falls, a short distance east of the Stedman house, and followed its bank for about forty rods to the fort above. Midway between the house and fort, were a dock, a warehouse, and a group of square-timbered, whitewashed log-cabins, used by the teamsters, boatmen and engagees connected with the portage.[2]

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[1] Maude's Niagara, p. 146.

[2] Manuscript letter of Hon. A. S. Porter.

About half a mile below the Stedman house, near the head of the present hydraulic canal, is the old French landing, where goods were transhipped when only canoes were used, and where the portage road terminated before Fort Schlosser was built. Along the road, between the fort and Lewiston, block houses were erected about twelve hundred yards apart, to protect the teams from disasters such as had occurred at the Devil's Hole. The remains of some of these were quite recently in existence.

Judge Porter leased the Stedman farm from the State in 1805, the agent Ware, being still in possession. He was ejected with some difficulty. Legal steps were taken, but owing to the unsettled state of the country, and the difficulty of executing process in a region so remote from civilization, recourse was had to "Judge Lynch," before possession was finally obtained.[1] Judge Porter occupied the dwelling during the years 1806–7 and 8, when he removed to the Falls. He was succeeded by Enos Boughton, one of the first pioneers on the Holland Purchase, who opened a tavern for the accommodation of early visitors to the Falls, and travelers *en route* for the great west. It became the headquarters in all that region, for military musters, general trainings and Fourth of July celebrations. The buildings were destroyed by the British in December, 1813; but the old chimney was suffered to remain, conspicuous among the surrounding ruins, a weather beaten memorial of the ruthless desolation of war.

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[1] Manuscript letter of Hon. A. S. Porter.

Gill Creek, so named from its diminutive size, and called also Cayuga Creek,[1] and Stedman's Creek, derives its only importance from being named as a boundary in some of the early Indian treaties.[2]

Chippewa Creek, nearly opposite Fort Schlosser, is called by the Senecas, Jo'-no-dak, signifying *shallow water;* probably referring to an old fording-place at the mouth of the creek. Pouchot, in his narrative of the siege of Fort Niagara, calls it Chenondac, evidently the same name, and describes its banks as abounding in fine timber, suitable for ship-building.[3] It was named Chippewa, after the Ojibway—otherwise called Mississauga—Indians, who formerly lived on its banks. The Canadian government by proclamation in 1792, gave it the name of Welland River, but it did not pass into general use. The earliest notice of the stream is found in the narrative of Father Hennepin, who, while seeking a site suitable for building the *Griffon*, encamped on its banks in the winter of 1678–9. He says, "it runs from the west, and empties into the Niagara within a league above the great fall." He found the snow a foot deep, and was obliged to remove it before building his camp-fire. The narrative incidentally mentions the abundance of deer and wild turkeys that were found in the vicinity.[4]

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[1] Savary's Journal, p. 360.

[2] Treaty at Canandaigua in 1794.

[3] Pouchot, Vol. III, p. 174.

[4] Hennepin, p. 75. Edition of 1693.

The Seneca name for Navy Island, Ga-*o'*-go-wa*h*-waa*h*, signifies *The big canoe island.* This is in allusion to the vessels built there by the French at an early day, for use on the lakes. Hence the French name Isle-la-Marine, and the English name, Navy Island. It contains about three hundred acres. A tradition still exists among the Senecas that a brass cannon was mounted on one of the vessels.[1] It was there the French reinforcements arrived from Venango for the relief of Fort Niagara, during its siege by Sir William Johnson. The English built two vessels on the island, in 1764, one of which was accidentally burned there in 1767. The island has since become celebrated, as the rendezvous of the Patriot forces during the Canadian rebellion of 1838.

Grand Island is called by the Senecas, Ga-we'-not, signifying *The Great Island.* It is mentioned by Hennepin under its present name.[2] At its northern extremity, in a sheltered bay, the remains of two vessels may now be seen at low water, which, tradition says, belonged to the French, and were burnt at the time Fort Niagara capitulated, to prevent their falling into the hands of the English. This has given origin to the name Burnt Ship Bay. I have been unable, however, to find any historical verification of this tradition. Sir William Johnson, while on his way west, in August, 1761, encamped for the night on the west side of this island, at the mouth of a creek now called

[1] A brass six-pounder was placed on one of the British vessels in 1764. Governor Simcoe's manuscript letter to Colonel England.

[2] Hennepin, p. 49. Edition of 1698.

Six Mile Creek, which he describes as a fine position, affording an eligible situation for a house, and a good harbor for boats. He called it Point Pleasant,—a name, the origin of which certainly entitles it to perpetuation. The Baronet makes special mention of the fine oaks with which the island abounded.[1]

Cayuga Creek was so named by the Senecas. In January, 1679, La Salle and his companions constructed a dock at its mouth, and laid the keel of the *Griffon*—the first vessel built on our western waters. The site chosen was just above the creek, close to the river bank.[2]

In commemoration of the enterprise, the name of "La Salle" has been conferred upon the small village and post-office at this locality. The same site was selected by the United States government about the year 1804, for the construction of a small sloop of fifty tons burden, called the Niagara, which was used for conveying supplies to the western posts. The vessel was subsequently purchased by Porter, Barton & Co., re-built at Black Rock, and named the *Nancy*, after the wife of the late Benjamin Barton, one of the partners.[3] While bearing the latter name she was commanded by Captain Richard O'Neil, and went out of commission just before the war of 1812.

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[1] Stone's Johnson, Vol. II., p. 45.

[2] A full account of the building of the *Griffon*, identifying the site, will be found *ante* p. 73.

[3] Mrs. Barton was usually called Nancy, but her baptismal name was Agnes.

Tonawanda Creek was so called by the Senecas, after the rapids at their village a few miles above its mouth, the name Ta-*no'*-wan-de*h* signifying literally, *a rough stream or current.* The French called it, "La rivière aux bois blanc," or "whitewood river." On the early maps it is called Maskinongez, that being the Chippewa name for the muskelunge, a fish once abundant in the stream.

The Senecas have a different name for Tonawanda Island. They call it Ni-ga'-we-n*ah*-*a*-*a*h, signifying *The Small Island.* It contains less than one hundred acres. Its upper end having a fine elevation above the surface of the river, was an occasional camping ground of the Senecas, before their final settlement in this region. Philip Kenjockety (hereafter more particularly noticed), claims to have been born there, while his father's family, then residing on the Genesee, were on one of their annual hunting expeditions.

Two negro brothers lived at an early day, at the mouth of Cornelius Creek, just below Lower Black Rock. They were supposed to be runaway slaves. The elder was called by the Senecas, O-ga*h'*-gwää*h*, signifying *Sun Fish*, on account of a red spot in one of his eyes, resembling that in the eye of the fish. Hence they called the creek, O-ga*h'*-gwää*h'*-gèh, *the residence of Sun Fish.* He was shrewd and intelligent; became a trader in cattle with parties in Canada and at Fort Niagara; chose a wife among the Seneca maidens, and acquired considerable property. The notorious Ebenezer Allen married one of his daughters, and added her to his extensive harem on the Genesee. The

younger negro was called So-wak, or *Duck.* Both died more than half a century ago, leaving numerous descendants, some now living on the Tonawanda Reservation.[1]

Kenjockety Creek was not so named by the Senecas. They called it Ga-noh'-gwa*h*t-gĕh, after a peculiar kind of wild grass, that grew near its borders. "The name Kenjockety," written in Seneca, Sgä-dyuh-gwa-dih, was given by the whites, after an Indian family they found living on its banks. Its literal signification is *Beyond the multitude.* John Kenjockety, the head of the family, was the son of a Kah-kwa, or Neutral Indian, whose father had been taken prisoner by the Senecas in the war which resulted in the extermination of his people. This occurred at the capture of one of the Kah-kwa villages, located on a branch of Eighteen Mile Creek, near White's Corners in this county. His family wigwams were on the north bank of Kenjockety Creek, a little east of the present Niagara street. They obtained their water for domestic use from the river, then fordable at low water to Squaw Island. The creek still retains among the whites the name they first gave it—the Senecas adhering to the more ancient designation. The old chief must have been a man of more than ordinary consideration among his people. The Rev. Mr. Kirkland mentions him in the journal of his tour to Buffalo Creek in 1788. He writes his name "Skendyoughgwatti," and styles him "the second man of influence and

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[1] Life of Mary Jemison, pp. 124-129. Turner's Phelps & Gorham's Purchase, p. 406.

character among the Senecas at Buffalloe."[1] His name is appended to a letter addressed to Governor George Clinton in 1789, remonstrating against some unauthorized sales of Indian lands.[2] The Hon. Augustus Porter, who surveyed the boundary line of the "Gore," between the Seneca Reservation and Lake Erie, stated to the writer that he was accompanied during the survey "by an old Indian named Scaugh-juh-quatty," who had been appointed by the Senecas to act with Red Jacket for that purpose. They indicated the edge of the swamp as the line for Judge Porter to follow, by preceding him from tree to tree, thereby carefully excluding what is called "the Tifft farm," and the remainder of the "Flats," as comparatively of no value. This will account for the zigzag course of the line in question.

Kenjockety continued to reside on the creek, until about the commencement of the present century, cultivating his corn-field on Squaw Island, and drawing abundant subsistence for himself and family from the river and the forest. The survey of "Mile-strip" by the State authorities, and the arrival of the pioneers of Buffalo, disturbed his tranquil home, and compelled him to remove to the Reservation, where he finally settled on the bank of Buffalo Creek, near the present iron bridge. Becoming dissipated in his old age, he perished miserably by the roadside, from the effects

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[1] Kirkland's MS. Journal in N. Y. State Library.

[2] Hough's Indian Treaties, Vol. II., p 331.

of intoxication, while on his way home from Buffalo in October, 1808.

Squaw Island was called by the Senecas De-dyo'-we-no'-guh-doh, signifying *a divided island*, referring to its division by the marshy creek known as "Smuggler's Run."[1] It was presented by the Nation to Captain Parish, their favorite agent and interpreter, as an acknowledgment, says the record, of his many services in their behalf. The gift was ratified by the Legislature, in 1816, though the Captain was required to pay the State at the rate of two dollars per acre before he obtained his patent. He sold the island to Henry F. Penfield, Esq., in 1823. Captain Parish and his colleague, Captain Jones, had each previously obtained a donation of a mile square on the river, now known as the Jones and Parish Tracts, and lying within the present bounds of our city. The Legislature was induced to make this grant, by that touching and effective petition dictated by Farmer's Brother, which has so often been cited as a specimen of Indian eloquence.[2]

Bird Island was originally several feet above the river level; rocky at its lower end, and partially covered with tall trees. Corn was cultivated on its upper end by Kenjockety's father. The Island has entirely disappeared, the rock which composed it having been used in the construction of the Black Rock pier. Its Seneca name, Dyos-dă-o-

[1] Philip Kenjockety stated to the writer that he has often passed through this creek in his canoe, on his way to Canada.

[2] Copied in Turner's Holland Land Company Purchase, p. 291.

doh, signifies *Rocky Island.* It was called "Bird Island" by the whites because of the multitude of gulls and other aquatic birds that frequented it at certain seasons.[1]

Black Rock being a convenient crossing place on the Niagara, became an important locality at an early day. Its history has been fully illustrated in an able and interesting paper entitled "The Old Ferry," read before the Buffalo Historical Society by Charles D. Norton, Esq.[2] Its Seneca name, Dyos-dăăh'-ga-eh, signifying *rocky bank*, is a compound word, embracing also the idea of a place where the lake rests upon or against a rocky bank. Its English name comes from the dark corniferous limestone which outcrops at this locality, and, underlying the bed of the river, composes the dangerous reef at the head of the rapids.

Prior to the commencement of the present century, the usual route between Buffalo Creek and the Falls was on the Canada side, crossing at Black Rock The Rev. Samuel Kirkland traveled it in 1788, and the Duke of Liancourt in 1795.

Fort Erie was originally built by Colonel Bradstreet, as a dépot for provisions, while on his expedition against the Western Indians in the summer of 1764. It was located some distance below the modern fort. The part facing the river was built of stone, surmounted by squared pickets. The rest was stockaded. Bradstreet states in a letter to

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[1] Campbell's Life of Clinton, p. 128.

[2] See Vol. I., p. 91.

General Amherst, still unpublished,[1] that "when he arrived at the locality he found no harbor. That vessels were compelled to lie at anchor in the open lake, exposed to every storm, and liable to be lost. In addition to this, they were obliged to send more than twenty miles for their loading; that on examining the north shore, he found a suitable place to secure the vessels by the help of a wharf just above the rapids." "A Post," he adds, "is now building there, and all that can will be done toward finishing it this season." He further says, that "to avoid giving offence to the Senecas savages, to whom the land belongs, I have desired Sir William Johnson to ask it of them, and they have granted it." This letter is dated August 4, 1764. The treaty between Sir William and the Senecas bears date two days after, at Fort Niagara, and cedes to His Majesty all the land, four miles wide, on each side of the river, between Fort Schlosser and the rapids of Lake Erie. The islands in the river were excepted by the Indians, and bestowed upon Sir William "as proof," says the record, "of their regard, and of their knowledge of the trouble he has had with them from time to time." Sir William accepted the gift, but, like a good subject, humbly laid it as an offering at the feet of his sovereign.[2]

The foundations of the present fort were laid in 1791.[3] It must have been a rude fortification, as originally con-

[1] Bradstreet's Manuscripts, N. Y State Library.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., Vol. VII., p. 647.

[3] Indian State Papers, Vol. I., p. 160.

structed, for the Duke of Liancourt describes it in 1795, as a cluster of buildings surrounded with rough, crazy palisades, destitute of ramparts, covered ways, or earth-works. Outside of the fort were a few log houses for the shelter of the officers, soldiers and workmen. There was also a large government warehouse, with an overhanging story pierced with loop-holes for the use of musketry.[1] The stone portion, the ruins of which still remain, was built in 1806, in the form of a quadrangle, and subsequently enlarged to more formidable dimensions. The Indian name of the locality, Gai-gwăăh-gĕh, signifies *The place of hats.* Seneca tradition relates, as its origin, that in olden time, soon after the first visit of the white man, a battle occurred on the lake between a party of French in batteaux and Indians in canoes. The latter were victorious, and the French boats were sunk and the crews drowned. Their hats floated ashore where the fort was subsequently built, and attracting the attention of the Indians from their novelty, they called the locality "the place of hats."

In the summer of 1687, the Baron La Hontan ascended, in his birchen canoe, the rapids of the Niagara into Lake Erie, on his way to the far West.[2] Appreciating with military eye, this commanding locality, he recommended it to the French Government as suitable for a fort, and marked it "Fort Supposé" on the map which illustrates his journal. This is the earliest historical notice of the

[1] Voyage par Liancourt., Vol. II., p. 4.

[2] La Hontan, English edition, Vol. I, p. 82.

site of Buffalo. No attention appears to have been paid to the recommendation, and for more than a century it remained in undisturbed repose, its solitudes unbroken by the axe of the woodman, or the tread of advancing civilization. Voyageurs, traders and missionaries passed and repassed on the river, but make no mention of even an Indian encampment. Nor does Sir William Johnson, who ascended the outlet into the lake on his way west in August, and returned in October, 1761.[1]

It has already been mentioned that the Senecas fled to Fort Niagara in 1779 before the invading forces of General Sullivan, and settled the following year on the banks of the Buffalo Creek. A single survivor of that fugitive band is now living on the Cattaraugus Reservation, in the person of the venerable Philip Kenjockety, a son of the John Kenjockety previously mentioned. When the writer saw him in June, 1864, he appeared strong and vigorous, being employed at the time in piling hemlock bark. His entire dress was a loose cotton shirt, and the customary Indian leggings. He presented a fine specimen of the native Indian of the old school, a class now almost extinct. He claimed to be one hundred years old, and a little examination into his personal history furnished proof of his correctness. It appeared that he was about fifteen at the time of Sullivan's expedition, and resided at Nunda, on the Genesee. He well remembered the flight of the Senecas on that occasion, when he drove a horse to Fort Niagara. The fugitives arrived there in the month of September, and remained

[1] Journal in Stone's Johnson, Vol. II., pp. 451 and 470.

in its neighborhood and under its protection during the following winter. The season was the most inclement known for many years; so much so that the river opposite the fort was frozen from the seventh of January until the following March,[1] and many of the Senecas perished from exposure and starvation before the ensuing spring. Brant made strenuous efforts during the winter to induce the Senecas to settle in Canada under the protection of the British Government. The Mohawks, and a few from the other tribes, yielded to his solicitations; but Kenjockety's father, who was intimately acquainted with the superior advantages of Western New York, successfully opposed the Mohawk chieftain, and prevailed upon the remainder to settle in the region watered by the Buffalo, Cattaraugus and Tonawanda creeks.

While listening to the eventful narrative of the aged Seneca, the writer could scarcely realize that the man was still living, who not only resided in this locality at the first advent of the white man, but who came here, with the Senecas themselves, to reap, by a permanent occupancy, the substantial fruits of their ancient conquests.[2]

At the time of the arrival of the Senecas, the striking feature of this locality was the predominance of the linden or basswood over all the other trees of the forest. They fringed both borders of the creek, and spread their broad foliage over its fertile bottoms. Seneca tradition tells us,

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[1] Merritt's MS.

[2] Kenjockety died April 1, 1866, aged over one hundred years.

that in the season when the tree was in flower, the hunting parties from the Genesee could hear, ere they reached the creek, the hum of the bee, as it gathered, in countless swarms, its winter stores from the abundant blossoms. Michaux, the French naturalist, who traveled through this region in 1807, states as a peculiarity of this locality, in his great work on the forest trees of America, that the basswood constituted two-thirds, and, in some localities, the whole of the forest between Batavia and New Amsterdam.[1] Early settlers say, that the peninsula bounded by Main street, Buffalo Creek and the canal, embracing what is now intersected by Prime, Lloyd and Hanover streets, was almost exclusively covered with this tree. It was occasionally found more than eighty feet high and four feet in diameter. Its giant trunks furnished at that convenient locality, a light and soft wood from which to fashion the Indian canoe, and a bark easily converted into various utensils useful in savage life. This bark formed the exclusive covering of the temporary huts, erected for the shelter of the hunting and fishing parties that frequented this region. The Senecas, in conformity with their well known custom, seized upon this marked peculiarity of the place, and called it Do'-syo-wă, a name strikingly euphonious in their tongue, meaning, *The place of basswoods.*

The origin of the name, Buffalo, has already been so thoroughly discussed in and out of this Society, that no

[1] N. American Sylva, Vol. III., p. 131

attempt will be made to throw additional light upon the subject. The earliest occurrence of the name which I have been able to discover, is on a manuscript map in the British Museum, found in a collection called King George's Maps, formerly in his Majesty's library. It is dated in 1764, and embraces both banks of the Niagara River from Lake Erie to Black Rock. The American shore is represented as entirely unsettled, covered with forest and bordered with sand hills. Buffalo Creek is laid down, bearing its present name. Its next occurrence is in the narrative of the captivity and residence of the Gilbert family among the Senecas in 1780–81, which was published in 1784. We next find it in the treaty of Fort Stanwix before alluded to. The Rev. Mr. Kirkland, in his journal of a visit to the Senecas in 1788,[1] speaks of their "village on the Buffaloe," and from that time the name appears to have passed into general use. The Holland Company endeavored to supplant it with the term "New Amsterdam," but our village fathers, with great good sense, rejected the substitute, together with the foreign names which the same company had imposed upon our streets.

The Senecas, with a few kindred Onondagas and Cayugas, on their arrival here, in 1780, established themselves on the banks of the Buffalo Creek. The former chose the south side, and the level bottoms beyond the present iron bridge, east of what is now known as "Martin's Corners." The Onondagas went higher up, as far as the elevated

[1] MS. Journal in N. Y. State Library.

table land, near where the southern Ebenezer village was subsequently located. The Cayugas settled north of the Onondagas, along that branch of the creek which bears their name.

In these localities the tribes were found, when immigration reached them; and here they remained, dividing their time between hunting, fishing and the cultivation of the soil, until the encroachments of the white man diminished their game, and created a demand for their lands too eager and powerful to be resisted. We have seen, within a few years, the last of the Senecas abandon their ancient seats, on the confines of our city, some to locate on the adjacent Reservations, and others to seek "a wider hunting-ground" beyond the Mississippi.

They left the graves of their fathers in the possession of the white man, and how has he fulfilled the trust? A visit to their rude and neglected cemetery will furnish the answer. The grave in which Red Jacket was laid by his mourning people, is empty.[1] The headstone of the captive "White Woman," carried away by piecemeal, for relics, by the curious, no longer tells the simple story of her remarkable life. Pollard and Young King and White Seneca, and many others, whose names were once as household words among us, all rest in unmarked graves. They were the friends of the founders of our city, when the Indians were strong and the white man weak. Those con-

[1] His remains were stolen by a Chippewa. They were recovered by his family and removed to the Cattaraugus Reservation.

ditions are now reversed. Having crowded the living from their ancient seats and pleasant hunting-grounds, let us respect the graves and protect the ashes of their fathers. One of their eloquent chiefs, De-ji*h*'-non-da-weh-hoh, *The Pacificator*, known to the whites as Dr. Peter Wilson,[1] has feelingly and reproachfully told us that "the bones of his people lie in exile in their own country." Would it not be an appropriate work for this Society, to initiate measures for the permanent preservation of their dead? The remains of such of their distinguished chiefs as can now be identified, should be removed, with the consent of their Nation, to our new cemetery. There, on the quiet banks of the Ga-no*h*'-gwa*h*t-gĕh,[2] in the shadow of the native forest, beneath the old oaks, where, within the memory of the living, their council fires burned, and their war-whoop rang,[3] under the same protection that guards the white man's grave, they would rest in security, and the dust of our antagonistic races commingle undisturbed.

[1] He died in March, 1872.

[2] The Seneca name of Kenjockety Creek.

[3] Forest Lawn was owned, during the war of 1812, by Erastus Granger, then U. S. Indian agent. His residence was north of the tall poplars, not far from the Main street entrance to the cemetery. The oak grove near by, was used by the Senecas for their councils at that period. They were our faithful allies, and rendered us valuable assistance in the contest with Great Britain.

APPENDIX TO THE FOREGOING ARTICLE.

The following list embraces many of the early names that have been applied to some of our great lakes and rivers, and to a few prominent localities along their borders. Several of inferior note though of more local interest, are also given. The great diversity that has existed in the mode of spelling the geographical terms of the Iroquois, has given rise to much confusion and uncertainty. This has induced the writer to adopt, in reducing the Seneca names to English orthography, the admirable system invented by the Rev. Asher Wright, of the Cattaraugus Mission. That able missionary has published in the Seneca language, which he speaks and writes fluently, several works of much interest to the philologist, the fruit of his many years of successful labor among that people. The acknowledgments of the writer are justly due to him for his assistance in determining the orthography and signification of many of the names that occur in these pages; also, to Dr. Peter Wilson, Nathaniel T. Strong,[1] and Nicholas H. Parker, all highly intelligent and cultivated members of the Iroquois family.

The following is substantially the key to Mr. Wright's system. If the sounds of the letters and accents are strictly observed, a close approximation to the correct pronunciation will be reached:

a sounded like a in fall.	o sounded like o in note.
ǎ sounded like a in hat.	u sounded like u in push.
e sounded like e in they.	ai sounded like i in pine.
ĕ sounded like e in bet.	iu sounded like u in pure.
i sounded like i in machine.	ch always soft as in chin.

Italic *h* sounded like the h in the interjection oh! when impatiently uttered; approaching the sound of k, though not quite reaching it.

When h comes after t or s it is separately sounded.

Italic *a* and *o* represent nasal sounds.

There are no silent letters.

A repeated vowel only lengthens the sound.

[1] N. T. Strong died January 4, 1872; Dr. Wilson, in March of the same year, and Mr. Wright, April 13, 1875.

SENECA NAMES WITH SIGNIFICATIONS.

Ga*h* da*h*' gĕh. "*Fishing-place with a scoop-basket.*" Cayuga Creek, or north fork of Buffalo Creek.

Hăh-do'-neh. "*The place of June berries.*" Seneca Creek, or south fork of Buffalo Creek.

Ga-e-na-d*ah*'-da*ah*. "*Slate rock bottom.*" Cazenovia Creek, or south fork of Buffalo Creek.

Tga-is'-da-ni-yont. "*The place of the suspended bell.*" The Seneca Mission House.

Tga*h*-sgoh'-sa-de*h*. "*The place of the falls.*" Falls above Jack Berrytown.

Jiihk'-do-wa*ah*'-gĕh. "*The place of the crab-apple.*" Cheektowaga.

De-as'-gwa*h*-dă-ga'-neh. "*The place of lamper-eel.*" Lancaster village, after a person of that name who resided there.

Ga-ya*h*-gaăwh'-doh. The Indian name of *Old Smoke*, who lived and died on the bank of Smoke's Creek. He led the Senecas at Wyoming. The name is now also applied to Smoke's Creek, and signifies "*The smoke has disappeared.*"

De-dyo'-de*h*-neh'-sak-do. "*A gravel bend.*" Lake shore above Smoke's Creek.

Jo-nya'-dih. "*The other side of the flats.*" Tifft's farm.

De-yeh'-ho-gă-da-ses. "*The oblique ford.*" The old ford at the present iron bridge.

De-yoh'-ho-ga*h*. "*The forks of the river.*" Junction of the Cayuga and Cazenovia Creeks.

Tga'-non-da-ga'-yos-hăh. "*The old village.*" The flats embracing Twitchell's farm. This is the site of the first village the Senecas built on Buffalo Creek.

Ni-dyio'-nya*h*-a'-ah. "*Narrow point.*" Farmer's Brother's Point.

Ga-noh'-ho*h*-gĕh. "*The place filled up.*" Long Point in Canada,

and sometimes applied to Erie. In allusion to the Indian tradition, that The Great Beaver built a dam across Lake Erie, of which Preeque Isle and Long Point are the remains.

Gah-gwah-ge'-gā-*aah*. "*The residence of the Kah-kwas.*" Eighteen Mile Creek. Sometimes called Gah-gwa*h*'-gē*h*.

Yo-da'-nyah-gwa*h*'. "*A fishing place with hook-and-line.*" Sandytown, the old name for the beach above Black Rock.

Tga*h*'-si-yā-de*h*. "*Rope ferry.*" Old ferry over Buffalo Creek.

Tga-noh'-so-do*h*. "*The place of houses.*" Old village in the forks of Smoke's Creek.

Dyo-ge'-o*h*-ja-*ch*. "*Wet grass.*" Red Bridge.

Dyos'-ho*h*. "*The sulpher spring.*" Sulpher Springs.

De-dyo'-n*a*-wa'-h. "*The ripple.*" Middle Ebenezer village.

Dyo-nāh'-da-e*ch*. "*Hemlock elevation.*" Upper Ebenezer village, formerly Jack Berrytown.

Tg*a*-des'. "*Long prairie*" Meadows above Upper Ebenezer.

Onon'-da*h*-ge'-ga*h* gēh. "*The place of the Onondagas.*" West end of Lower Ebenezer.

Sha-ga-na*h*'-ga*h*-gēh. "*The place of the Stockbridges.*" East end of Lower Ebenezer.

He-yont-gat-hwat' ha*h*. "*The picturesque location.*" Cazenovia Bluff, east of Lower Ebenezer.

Dyo-e'-oh-gwes. "*Tall grass or flag island.*" Rattlesnake Island.

Dyu'-ne-ga-nooh'. "*Cold Water.*" Cold Spring.

Gā*h*dā'-ya-de*h* "*A place of misery.*" Williamsville. In allusion to the open meadows at this place, which were very bleak in winter. *Blacksmith* says the name refers to the "open sky," where the path crossed the creek.

EARLY NAMES APPLIED TO THE GREAT LAKES AND RIVERS AND TO SOME OF THE PROMINENT LOCALITIES ON THEIR BORDERS.

Lake Ontario.

Lac des Entouhonorons. Champlain, i, ed. 1632, p. 336. So called after a nation living south of the lake.

St. Louis. Champlain, ed. 1632. Rel., 1640–41, p. 49.

Lac Des Iroquois. Relation des Jesuites, 1635, p. 121.

La Mer Douce. "*The Fresh Sea.*" Relation, 1639–40, p. 130.

Ontario. "*Beautiful Lake.*" Hennepin, p. 31. Rel., 1640–41, p. 49.

Skanadario. "*Beautiful Lake.*" Hennepin, p. 42.

Cadarackui. Colden, xvi.

Frontenac. Hennepin, p. 40.

Lake Erie.

Erié. Relation, 1641, p. 71.

Lac Du Chat. "*Cat Lake.*" Sanson's Map of 1651.

Lac De Conty. Coronelli's Map of 1688.

Oswego. N. Y. Colonial Documents, v, p. 694.

Lake Huron.

La Mer Douce. "*The Fresh Sea.*" Champlain, appendix, p. 8.

Attigouantan. Champlain, i, p. 324.

Karegnondi. Sanson's Map of 1657.

Lac Des Hurons. Relation, 1670–71, map.

Lac D'Orleans. Coronelli's Map of 1688.

Quatoghe. Colden, xvi.

Caniatare. Colden, xvi.

Lake Michigan.

Lac Des Puants. Champlain, 1632.
Lac Des Illinois. Relation, 1669–70. Marquette's Map, 1674.
St. Joseph. Father Allouez in 1675.
Dauphin. Coronelli's Map of 1688.
Michigonong. Hennepin, p. 53.

Lake Superior.

Le Grand Lac. "*The Great Lake.*" Champlain, 1632.
Lac Superieur. "*Upper Lake.*" Relation, 1660, p. 9.
Lac De Tracy. Relation, 1667, p. 4.
Lac De Condé. Le Clercq., p. 137.

Niagara Falls.

Saut d'eau. "*Waterfall.*" Champlain's Map, 1613.
Onguiaahra. Relation, 1640–41, p. 65. Applied to river-only.
Ongiara. Sanson's Map of 1651. Ducreux, 1660.
Unghiara. Bancroft's U. S., vol. iii, p. 128.
Och-ni-a-gara. Evans' Map, 1755.
Iagara. Colden's Five Nations, appendix, p. 15.
O-ni-a-ga-rah. Colden's Five Nations, p. 79.
O-ny-a-kar-rah. Macauley's N. Y., vol. ii, p. 177.

THE NEW YORK CHARTER, 1664 AND 1674.[1]

THE recent settlement of the boundary line between the states of New York and Connecticut, by an agreement between commissioners appointed by their respective legislatures, recalls to mind the controversies which have existed between those states since the earliest colonization of the country. Prior to the charter granted to the Duke of York in 1664, the Dutch, while in possession of the New Netherlands, claimed eastward to the Connecticut river, and at the same time the colony of Connecticut claimed westward to the Hudson river, and from thence to the Pacific Ocean. In 1664, while the dispute was pending between those two colonies, the British government, under claim of prior discovery, took possession of the New Netherlands, and King Charles the II., by virtue of his royal prerogative, granted to his brother, the Duke of York, the territory now comprised within the limits of the state of New York. Although its eastern boundary was defined in the charter to be "the Connecticut River," yet the colony of Connecticut stoutly resisted the claim, on the ground of prior title and

[1] Reprinted from the Magazine of American History for January, 1882.

occupancy, and the controversy lasted, without intermission, for more than two centuries.

Now that the last of the disputed boundaries has finally been settled, it may be interesting, in this connection, to trace, from authentic records, the several steps by which the royal duke, afterwards James II., became vested with the sovereignty and fee of the empire state which now bears his name.

The writer has recently examined, in the State Paper Office, in Fetter Lane, London, some of the original documents relating to the history of this important title. They were all found in good preservation, from the original warrant to prepare a bill for the king's patent, to the final enrollment of the charter of 1664. The venerable charter itself, exhumed from its long rest, crisp with age, and covered with the dust of two centuries, was brought to light, bearing the king's autograph, and transferring to his royal brother the richest grant in the power of His Majesty to bestow. The title to all British territory being vested in the king, any grant of the same could be made without the authority of Parliament, by letters-patent under the Great Seal Before reaching the latter, it was customary for the grant to pass through several preliminary stages. In the first place, a warrant was issued by the Crown, directing the attorney or solicitor-general to prepare a bill for the proposed grant. This bill, when prepared, was signed by the king at the top, with his own sign-manual, and sealed with the Privy Signet in custody of the principal secretary of state. An extract of this

bill was then taken, within eight days, to the lord keeper of the king's Privy Seal, requiring him to prepare a bill for the king's signature, which should embrace the proposed grant. One of the clerks of the Privy Seal was required, within eight days thereafter, to issue letters of warrant to the Lord Chancellor of England, commanding him to prepare a bill to pass the Great Seal, which should also contain the grant. Upon the receipt of this mandate, the Lord Chancellor affixed the Great Seal, whereupon the grant was duly enrolled and became complete. In some cases, at the pleasure of the king, the patent was taken from the Privy Signet Office direct to the Lord Chancellor, without its going through the office of the Privy Seal.

The duke's patent of 1664 seems to have passed these several stages in its progress to completion. In tracing its history in the British archives, the first document relating to the title was found in the series of "Colonial Papers," and consisted of an undated draught of the warrant to prepare a bill for the king's signature. There are three copies of this draught, each dated February 29, 1664. Two are contained in the Colonial Entry-Books, Nos. 68 and 92, and the third in a warrant-book, bearing the name of Sir Henry Bennett, one of King Charles' secretaries of state. Entry-book No. 92 is one of Sir Joseph Williamson's note-books. Sir Joseph was another of King Charles' secretaries. He wrote in the margin of the book, opposite the copy of the warrant, "Grant to his Royal Highness in N. England." The description of the territory granted is

identical in all three of these copies, and by its terms includes "all the land from the west side of Hudson's river to the east side of Delaware Bay," thus necessarily excluding all the territory between the Connecticut and Hudson's river. The next document found was the king's Signet Bill, contained in the Signet Docket-Book, No. 15, at page 292. It is dated March 8, 1664, and bears the king's signature. It is endorsed as follows: "Charles R., our will and pleasure is that this pass by immediate warrant." It was entered at the Signet Office, March 10, 1664, and attested by John Nicholas, and entered at the Privy Seal Office the same day, and attested by John Caule. The letters-patent passed the Great Seal on the same day, and are inscribed, "*per ipsum regem*," by the king himself.

It will be seen from the description of the territory granted by the patent, a copy of which is hereinafter given, that such description does not conform to that contained in the warrant, but was so changed and enlarged in the patent as to include all the land from the west side of *Connecticut* river to the east side of Delaware Bay, instead of from the west side of *Hudson's* river to the east side of Delaware Bay. This amended description, substituting Connecticut for Hudson's river, was inserted in all the documents subsequent to the warrant to prepare a bill, for it is found in the original of the king's Signet Bill above referred to, signed by the king himself, in the bill as entered in the Privy Seal Office the same day, in the docket

in the Signet Office Docket-Book, and in the final patent of 1664. The above important and significant alteration would seem to justify the inference that on February 29, 1664, when the warrant was drawn as the first step toward granting the patent, it was considered that the colony of Connecticut, on which it was intended to bound the patent on the east, of right extended westward to the Hudson river, as was then and subsequently continued to be strenuously claimed and contended for by Connecticut, and that it was, at the date of the warrant, so understood by the king himself.

The following are literal transcripts of the description of the territory granted by the warrant to prepare a bill for the king's patent of 1664, copied from the Colonial Entry-Book, No. 68, page 7, above referred to; also of the description of the territory granted by the said patent, copied from the book labelled "Properties," B. T., Vol. 25, page 113. This last document is the original draught of the patent in parchment enrolled 16, Carolus II., only a few trifling and immaterial variations being found between it and that patent. The duplicate of this enrolled patent, which was delivered to the Duke of York as evidence of his title, is now in the office of the secretary of state of the state of New York, at Albany. Full copies of this duplicate may be found on pages 10, etc., of the Report of the Regents of the University of the State of New York on the boundaries of New York, and on page 653 of the second volume of Broadhead's History of New York.

WARRANT TO PREPARE A BILL.

Grant to his Royal Highness of Lands in New England, 29 February, 166¾.

Wee will and require you forthwith to prepare a Bill for our Royal Signature to pass our Great Seale containing a Grant unto Our Dearest Brother James Duke of Yorke and his heires forever, of all that part of the Main Land of New England, beginning from a place called St. Croix, next adjoyning to New Scotland in America, and from thence extending along the Sea Coast unto a certain place called Pemaquin and soe up ye river thereof to the farthest head thereof, as it tendeth Norward, and from thence to ye River Kinebequin, and soe upwards by ye shortest cut to ye River Canada, and alsoe all that Island or Islands called Mattawock or Long Island, lying to the Westward of Cape Codd and ye narrow higawsets abutting upon the main land between the rivers of Connecticut and Hudson's River; together alsoe with the said river called Hudson's River, and all the land from ye west side of Hudsons River to the East side of Delaware Bay, all of which are within ye latitude 39 and 40 degrees, and containing in length from East to West the whole length of the Sea Coast, and alsoe all those Islands of Block Islands, Martins vineyards and Nantukes, with all lands, islands, mines, minerals, royalties, comodities and hereditaments within the said limits, with power of judicature, &c., &c

Dated at WHITEHALL 25th Febry 166¾

PATENT OF 1664.

King Charles the 2^d his Patent, to the Duke of York for New Jersey in America, March 12 166¾

Charles the Second, by the Grace of God &c, to all to whom these presents shall come Greeting—

Know ye that we, for divers good causes and considerations us hereunto moving, having of our Especial Grace, certain knowledge

and meer motion, given and granted, and by these presents for us our heirs and successors, do give and grant, unto our dearest brother, James Duke of York his heires and assigns, all that part of the Main Land of New England, beginning at a certain place called or known by the name of St. Croix next adjoyning to New Scotland in America, and from thence extending along the sea coast unto a certain place called Pemaquie or Pemaquid, and so up the River thereof to the farthest head of the same, as it tendeth Northward and extending from thence to the River of Kinebequire, and so upwards by the Shortest course to the River Cannada Northward, and also all that Island or Islands, commonly called by the severall name or names of Mattowacks or Long Island, scituate lying and being toward the west of Cape Codd and Narro Higanset, abutting upon the Maine Land between the two Rivers, there called or known by the severall names of Connecticutt and Hudsons River, together also with the said River called Hudsons River, and all the Land from the West side of Connecticutt River to the East side of Delaware Bay, and also all those severall Islands called or known by the names of Martins Vineyard and Nantukes otherwise Nantuket, together with all the Lands, Islands, Soyles, Rivers, Harbours, Mines, Minerals, Quarries, Woods, Marshes, Waters, Lakes, Fishings, Hawking, Hunting and Fowling, and all other Royalties, Profits, commodities and hereditaments, to the said severall Islands, Lands, and Premisses belonging, and appertaining, with their and every of their appurtenances, &c, &c.....

In Witnesse &c ourself at Westminster the twelfth day of March Anno Regni Regis Caroli Secundi Sexto decimo Per ipsum Regem.

The second charter of 1674, which was granted by King Charles II., to the Duke of York, to obviate the objections which had been raised against the validity of the first charter, on account of its covering territory then in possession of the Dutch, is almost identical, in the description of the territory conveyed, with the terms of the first charter.

This may be seen by a reference to the copies of the two charters contained in the Regents' report on the boundaries of New York, above referred to.

BOUNDARY CONTROVERSIES.

When the various colonial charters were granted, and their territorial boundaries defined, the geographical knowledge of the interior of North America was necessarily very limited. The only information obtainable was derived chiefly from reports of voyageurs who had penetrated the vast interior of the continent in their prosecution of the fur trade, from the accounts of the early missionaries, and from the rude sketches furnished by the natives, showing the outlines of the lakes and rivers which so prominently mark the natural features of the country. Confused descriptions, growing out of this defective knowledge, occasioned the numerous boundary disputes, which, from time to time, arose between New York and her neighbors.

On the east, Massachusetts, by virtue of the charter granted by James I., in 1620, to the council of Plymouth, and the subsequent sale by said council to Sir Henry Roswell and his associates, claimed a strip between the Merrimack and Charles rivers, which, extending westerly between 42° 2′ and 45° 15′ north latitude, reached the Pacific Ocean. This claim was under a title prior to the first patent to the Duke of York, and in conflict therewith, so far as it overlapped the territories of the latter. The controversy was not settled until May 18, 1773,

when a line parallel with the Hudson, and about twenty miles easterly therefrom, was agreed upon as a boundary between the two colonies. This, however, did not dispose of the claim of Massachusetts to the territory lying west of the lands granted to the Duke of York. The western limits of the Duke's territories, which lie north of the parallel drawn through the northernmost sources of Delaware Bay, were vague and undefined in both his patents. New York, in view of this uncertainty, and to strengthen her patent title, asserted a right to extend westerly to Lakes Erie and Ontario, founded mainly on a claim as successor to the Five Nations, and on the acquiescence of the British crown. This was stoutly resisted by Massachusetts, and it was not until December, 1786, that a satisfactory arrangement was effected between the two colonies. By this settlement, New York granted to Massachusetts the title or right of pre emption, exclusive of jurisdiction and sovereignty, in and to certain lands in the state of New York, lying between the Chenango and Tioughnioga rivers on the east, and the Owego river on the west, embracing 230,400 acres in the present counties of Tioga, Broome and Cortland; also in and to all that portion of the present state of New York bounded north by Lake Ontario, south by Pennsylvania, west by a meridian drawn through the western extremity of Lake Ontario, and east by a meridian drawn from a point in the northern boundary of Pennsylvania, eighty-two miles west of the north-east corner of said state, excepting therefrom a strip one mile wide, extending along the east side of the

Niagara river, from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. Massachusetts, in consideration of the above grant, while she reserved the right of pre-emption in the soil, relinquished to New York all sovereignty and jurisdiction over all that part of the state of New York lying west of a meridian drawn through Seneca Lake, and comprising what were subsequently known as the Phelps' and Gorham and Holland Land Companies' purchases. On the north-east, the line between New York and New Hampshire remained unsettled until October, 1790, when New York consented that Vermont, which had been taken from the western part of New Hampshire and organized as a state, might be admitted into the union with its present western boundary. This was ratified by Congress on February 18, 1791, and Vermont, under its present name, thus became one of the United States. On the south, Pennsylvania claimed, under the charter of March 4, 1681, from King Charles II., as far north as the 42d parallel. Connecticut claimed, under the charter of April 23, 1662, granted by the same king to John Winthrop and others, from the parallel of 41° to the parallel of 42° 2'. Thus a narrow strip two minutes, or about two and one-third miles wide, extending from the Delaware westerly as far as the western limits of New York, was claimed by both colonies.

This controversy was terminated in favor of New York by an act of the General Assembly of Connecticut, passed in May, 1800, whereby it released all territorial and jurisdictional interest in all lands lying west of the eastern boundary of New York, in consideration of a conveyance

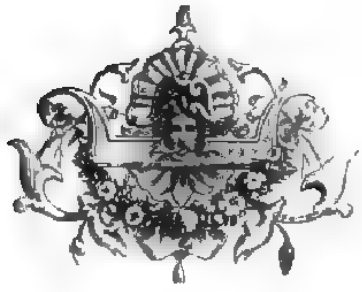
to Connecticut by the United States of that tract of land in the north-east part of Ohio, since known as the "Western Reserve," from the proceeds of the sales of which, the noble school-fund of the latter state has been derived.

The northern boundary of New York, being coterminous with that of the United States, was first defined and established by royal proclamation, October 7, 1763, and confirmed by act of parliament in 1774, in fixing the limits of the province of Quebec. It was again defined by the second article of the treaty of peace concluded between the United States and Great Britain in 1783. The line was afterward surveyed and practically located in 1817 and 1818, by commissioners appointed under the fifth and sixth articles of the Treaty of Ghent.

The boundary between New York and New Jersey remained unsettled until Sept. 16, 1833, when an agreement was entered into by commissioners mutually appointed by the two states, and ratified by New York the next year, which effectually disposed of all further controversy.

By the recent compact between New York and Connecticut, ratified by an act of the Legislature of New York, passed May 8, 1880, the last of the boundary disputes which have so long existed as subjects of irritation between New York and her neighbors, has been amicably and definitely settled. It now remains for the lines thus established by solemn agreement to be accurately surveyed and marked by permanent monuments, so that all possibility of future doubt may be removed.

This is now being done in the most thorough manner along the division line between New York and Pennsylvania, under the direction of the Board of Regents of the University of New York, and the work should be extended to all other portions of the state boundary not defined by natural objects.



EARLY NOTICES OF THE COPPER REGIONS.[1]

A KNOWLEDGE of the existence of extensive mines of copper on the shores of Lake Superior, and in other localities in the north-western part of the United States, was obtained from the Indians, at a very early day, by the French missionaries and traders who ventured among them.

Father Allouez, who established, in the year 1665, the first Jesuit mission on Lake Superior, at La Pointe, near its western extremity, searched in vain, while on his way thither, for the celebrated mass of native copper of which he had heard from the "Sauteurs,"[2] or *people of the Saut*. It does not appear that he was successful in his researches, although his route lay along the southern shore of the lake, and in close proximity to some of the richest localities.

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[1] Published in the *American Review* for 1846, p. 347.—Ed.

[2] So called from their residence at the Falls of St Mary. Some English authors have translated *Sauteurs into leapers!* thereby losing sight of the origin of the name. Their native appellation was Pauoirigoueiouhak, meaning *people of the Falls*, a name which Charlevoix says requires three breaths to pronounce in full.

Father Hennepin says that in 1680, while on his voyage upon the Mississippi, the Indians showed him extensive mines of coal, lead and copper, but he does not designate the particular localities. He also mentions, in his account of De La Salle's last voyage, that several pieces of copper had been found in the sands of the Illinois river at low water.

The monk Guèdeville, who wrote under the *nom de plume* of "The Baron La Houtan," was at the Sault Ste. Marie in 1688, and says, in his description of Lake Superior, that upon that lake are found copper mines in abundance, of which the ore is so pure that there is no more than one-seventh loss.

In the beginning of the year 1700, M. d'Iberville having heard of a copper mine on Green river, a tributary of the St. Peters, directed M. le Sueur to proceed to the country of the Sioux with twenty men, and take possession of the same. Le Sueur had discovered the mine in question in 1695, and is the first traveler that mentions the St. Peters river. He had also, in the same year, discovered a piece of copper weighing sixty pounds, on one of the branches of the Chippewa river.

He set out, with his companions, near the end of April, 1700, and ascended the Mississippi to the Falls of St. Anthony. From thence he paddled up the St. Peters about forty leagues, where Green river joined it on the left. It was so named, because the earth which fell into it from the mines gave it that color. Having proceeded up the latter river about a league, their progress was

arrested by ice, although it was not later in the season than the first of October. They were, consequently, compelled to construct a fort for their protection, which they named *Fort Huillier*, and remained there in winter quarters.

In the month of April following, they proceeded to the mines, which were less than a league from their fort, and in 22 days they raised over 30,000 pounds of ore, of which they sent 4,000 pounds of the best to France. The mine was opened at the base of a mountainous ridge, about ten leagues long, which appeared to be entirely composed of the same material. The earth from which they raised the ore was of a green color. The copper could be scraped with a knife, after first removing a kind of crust, hard as stone, and black and burnt like charcoal by the vapor which issued from the mine. A combination of circumstances, but principally the want of funds, prevented Le Sueur from further prosecuting this enterprise.

Father Charlevoix, the celebrated historian of New France, who traveled extensively along the lakes, and their borders, in 1721, has left us some interesting notices of this mineral.

"The large pieces of copper," he observes, "which are found in some places on the shore of Lake Superior, and on some of the islands in the same lake, are the object of superstitious worship on the part of the Indians. They regard them with veneration, as presents from the gods who live under the water. They gather and carefully preserve the smallest fragments, without making any use

of them. They say, that a long time since, there was a large rock of that material elevated above the surface of the lake, and as it has entirely disappeared, they pretend that the gods have transported it elsewhere; but there is reason to believe that the waves, in the progress of time have covered it with sand and mud. It is certain that this metal has been discovered in many places in large quantities, and under such favorable circumstances, as to save the necessity of much excavation.

"On my first voyage to this region," he continues, "I knew one of our fathers who had been a goldsmith. He sought for the metal, and by reason of its almost pure state, easily manufactured it into crosses, chandeliers and censers."

Charlevoix also states, that copper had been found near the mouth of the river St. Croix, which empties into the eastern side of the Mississippi, a short distance below the St. Peters.

Alexander Henry, the Indian trader, in the interesting narrative of his travels and adventures in the North-West, says that the Indians used to manufacture this metal into spoons and bracelets, it being so pure as to be readily beaten into shape. Henry visited the celebrated rock on the Ontonagan river in 1766, the weight of which he estimated at five tons. Such was its pure and malleable state, that he was able to cut off with an axe a portion weighing one hundred pounds. He conjectured that the mass had

rolled from the side of a lofty hill, at the base of which it lay.[1]

Henry passed the winter of 1767–'8 on the Island of Michipicoten. On his way thither, he found at Point Mamance a vein of lead ore, in the form of cubical crystals, and at other points, on the northern coast, he met with several veins of the gray copper ore. Near Nanibojou, on the eastern side of the Bay of Michipicoten, he found several pieces of virgin copper lying on the beach, many of which were remarkable for their form, some resembling leaves of vegetables, and others animals, and weighing from an ounce to three pounds.

On an island near by, Indian tradition had located the sepulchre of *Nanibojou*, or the *Great Hare*, and his spirit was supposed to make that his constant residence, presiding over the lake, and over the Indians in their navigation and fishing. Tobacco, kettles, broken guns, and other articles, were found deposited on the projecting rocks, as propitiatory offerings from the rude savage to this imaginary deity.

In the spring of 1768, Henry met with a Mr. Alexander Baxter, who had come out from England to examine the ores abounding in the country. Henry communicated to him his observations, and exhibited his specimens, and they soon laid the foundation of the first mining company of Lake Superior.

Henry passed the next winter at Michipicoten, and on his voyage thither encamped, as usual, on the Island of

[1] This mass is now in the Smithsonian Institution, at Washington. It cost the government $3,500 to obtain and transport it.

Nanibojou. Having omitted the customary offerings to the presiding deity, they were visited by a furious storm, which detained them twelve days, and destroyed their nets. Having consumed all their provisions, they would have been in great danger of starvation, but for the timely discovery of some *tripe de roche.*

In the spring of 1770, Mr. Baxter, who had gone to England. returned, with the papers constituting Henry Baxter, and a Mr. Bostwick, joint agents and partners in a company of adventurers for working the mines of Lake Superior. Having constructed a sloop of 40 tons, they embarked early in May, 1771, from their ship-yard, at *Point aux Pins*, three leagues above the Sault, on the Canada shore. They steered first for the "*Island of Yellow Sands*," and landed on its beach, fully prepared to meet the guardians of the gold, and do battle with the serpents and demons, with which Indian superstition had peopled it. After a vain search for three days, no gold, nor even yellow sands, were found, and no demons nor serpents appeared. They then sailed for Nanibojou, on the shore of which the miners found several veins of copper and lead. Specimens having been procured, they returned to Point aux Pins, where they erected an air furnace, and assayed the ores. They found the lead ore contained silver, in the proportion of forty ounces to the ton; but the copper ore only a very small proportion. They subsequently crossed to Fort Iroquois, on the American shore of the lake, where Mr. Norburgh, a Russian gentleman, acquainted with metals, and holding a commission in the

60th Regiment, chanced to find a semi-transparent mineral substance, of a blue color, weighing eight pounds. This specimen he carried to England, where it yielded pure silver, at the rate of 60 per cent, and was deposited in the British Museum.

Our adventurers found no further indications of the metal until they reached the Ontonagan, where they discovered great quantities embedded in stone. There they built a house, and sent to the Sault for provisions. They commenced their operations at a place where a stream of green-colored water, tinging iron a copper color, called by by the miners, "*a leader*," issued from the hill. In digging at this point, they frequently found masses of copper, some of which weighed three pounds.

Having left the miners with everything provided for their subsistence during the winter, the parties returned to the Sault. Early in the spring of 1772, a boat, loaded with provisions was despatched to the miners, but it returned to the Sault on the 20th of June, bringing, to the great surprise of the agents, the whole establishment of miners. In the course of the winter they had penetrated forty feet into the hill, but when the first thaw came, the clay, which they had neglected to support, settled into their drift, and put an end to their labors.

In the month of August following, the miners were transported to the northern side of the lake. But little was done until the summer of 1773, when they penetrated thirty feet into the solid rock, which was blasted with great difficulty. The vein having thinned out from four

feet to four inches, the work was discontinued; and after a fruitless exploration along the northern shore, as far as the River Pic, the sloop was sold, and the miners discharged.

The great distance from civilization, the difficulty of procuring and maintaining laborers, and the heavy expense of transporting the ore to market, induced the proprietors to abandon the enterprise.

Thus ended the labors of the first company formed to work the mines of Lake Superior. The partners in England were his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, Mr. Secretary Townsend, Sir Samuel Tutchett, Baronet, Mr. Baxter, Consul of the Empress of Russia, and Mr. Cruikshank. Those in America were Sir William Johnson, Alexander Henry, Mr. Bostwick, and Mr. Baxter. A charter was obtained in England for the company, but from the ill success of the enterprise was never taken from the seal office.

The failure of this attempt was alluded to by a Chippewa Chief from the Ontonagan river, who was present at a council held under Governor Cass at Fond du Lac, in August, 1826. Speaking of the celebrated copper rock, he says: "It is the property of no one man. It belongs alike to us all. It was put there by the Great Spirit, and it is ours. In the life of my father, the British were engaged in working it. It was then about the size of that table (pointing to the one at which the commissioners were seated). They attempted to raise it to the top of the hill, and they failed. They then said the copper was

not in the rock, but in the banks of the river. They dug for it, and while working under ground by candle-light, the earth fell in upon them, and killed three of their men. It was then abandoned, and no attempt has been made upon it until now."

It being generally supposed from Hennepin's statement, and other sources, that mines of copper existed on the banks of the Illinois, Mr. Patrick Kennedy, with a company of *coureurs de bois*, set out from Kaskaskias on the 23d day of July, 1773, with the design of discovering their locality They descended the Mississippi to the mouth of the Illinois, where they arrived on the 31st of the same month. They ascended the Illinois, and reached the "*Grand Rapids*" on the 10th of August, without finding any indications of the metal. Mr. Kennedy's journal, which is a rare work, contains an interesting account of this voyage. He saw numerous droves of deer and buffalo along the banks of the river, and was charmed with the prairies, groves and islands, which diversified the scenery. On his return, he ascended Copperas Creek, a small stream which empties into the Illinois below Peoria, and searched, without success, for the ore along its banks.

Mr. Hearne found pieces of copper in the Coppermine river in 1771, and mentions in his travels that it was in common use at that time for knives, trinkets, etc., among the Indians of that inclement region.

Captain Jonathan Carver, who visited Lake Superior in 1768, then predicted that "in future times an advanta-

geous trade in copper would spring up; that the metal would be conveyed in canoes through the Falls of Ste. Marie and from thence in larger vessels to the Falls of Niagara; and after being carried by land across the portage, would easily be transported to Quebec." The anticipations of that early traveler are about to be realized, though the ore will not seek a market in the precise route and manner indicated by him. American capital and enterprise have been directed to the subject, and making due allowance for much exaggeration, there can be little doubt, that many of the recent investments in mining operations will yield a handsome return of profits, and in a few years add a considerable amount to the commerce and wealth of the country.

Index Rerum.

INDEX RERUM.

Conjockety, Gah-noh-gwat-geh, has reference to wild grass growing on the stream. Seneca White, June 30, '64.

Conjockety, lived just below the iron bridge at mouth of small stream. Conjockety, June, '64.

Conjockety moved from Conjockety creek, after the war. Three families, three houses. Conjockety, June, '64.

Conjockety, Ska-dyoh'-gwa-dih. The other side of the multitude. Conjockety, June, 1864. Strong.

Conjockety, has heard Kahkwah language spoken, good many words like Seneca. Conjockety, June, '64. N. T. S.

Conjockety, "my father was captured from Kahkwahs a little north-east of White's Corners." Conjockety, June, '64.

Conjockety, only remains of a village he saw there were cedar posts. "My father told me they were posts of the Kahkwas." Conjockety.

Conjockety, called himself 100 years old. Conjockety, 1864.

Conjockety, was born on Tonewanda Island and lived there. Conjockety, 1864.

Conjockety, his ancestors lived on Tonewanda Island long before Revolutionary war. Conjockety, 1864.

Conjockety, afterwards moved to Nunda, then to Genesee river, then driven to Fort Ningara.

Conjockety, I was six years old (fifteen, 2d interview) when I left Nunda.

Conjockety, "am ten years younger than Asa Pratt's father." Conjockety, 1864.

Conjockety, if ten years younger than Asa Pratt's father, then he was born in 1774. See O. Allen's letter of Nov. 16, 1869.

Conjockety, lived on this side Genesee river below Big Tree. Conjockety, 1864.

Conjockety, "drove a horse when I fled to Fort Niagara in August." Conjockety, 1864.

Conjockety, staid at Fort Niagara that winter, next winter at Niagara Falls. Conjockety, 1864.

Conjockety, "not a soul from Fort Erie to Fort Niagara on Canada side when I came there." Conjockety, 1864.

make has disappeared." [illegible] "[illegible] image" was an under cloud, [illegible] guarantee. [illegible] V, 68? [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] opens a dialogue of the [illegible] [illegible] attacked on [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

APPENDIX.

THE LATE O. H. MARSHALL.

[From the *Buffalo Daily Courier*, Friday, July 11th, 1884.]

In the death of Orsamus H. Marshall, briefly referred to in these columns yesterday, the bar of Buffalo has lost one of its brightest ornaments, the Historical society its strongest pillar, and the city one of its oldest, most upright and highly respected residents. As has been already stated, Mr. Marshall died at his residence, 700 Main street, on Wednesday, [July 9th] shortly before midnight, aged seventy-two. For some time his health has been rather precarious. Last winter he spent at Nassau, New Providence; and in the beginning of April this year he repaired to Florida. These changes of clime were attended with beneficial results, and after visiting several southern cities he returned to Buffalo in May, apparently much improved in health. A few days ago, however, the symptoms of his old heart affection manifested themselves, and the best medical aid could not arrest their fatal progress.

Orsamus H. Marshall was born at Franklin, Conn., on February 1, 1813. His father, Dr. John E. Marshall, a physician of eminence in his profession, was one of Buffalo's pioneer settlers whose lot was to bear the brunt of the war of 1812. During this troublous time as many as were in a position to do so left the scene, but the doctor remained where his services were required. Mrs. Marshall sought refuge with relatives at Franklin, and it was at this time that Orsamus was born. The war over, Mrs. Marshall joined her husband at Mayville, Chautauqua county, where the family had settled in 1809. Six years later, when the subject of this sketch was only two and a-

half years old, the family came to reside in Buffalo, making the journey hither on horseback, which was the customary mode of traveling in those days. Dr. Marshall acquired from the Holland Land company a lot on the corner of Washington and Mohawk streets, and built thereon a home. This lot was subsequently sold to Trinity church and marks the site of the old church, which in its turn is so soon to give place to a newer and more convenient structure.

In 1827 at the age of fourteen years Orsamus was sent to the Polytechnic school at Chittenango, N. Y., where he remained a year. Among his classmates were John L. Talcott, since judge of the Supreme Court of this state, and William L. Taney, the famous southern fire-eater. In 1829 young Marshall returned to Buffalo and joined a military school founded by Alden Partridge and kept by Col. James McKay in a building afterwards occupied by the Sisters of Charity hospital. In 1830 he entered the junior class at Union college, where in the following year he graduated at the age of eighteen. On being called upon to choose a profession, Mr. Marshall selected that of the law, and entered the office of Austin & Barker. He read with this firm until the spring of 1833; subsequently attended Dr. Daggett's lectures at Yale and was admitted to practice as an attorney at-law in October, 1834, and as solicitor in chancery the following month. His first law partnership was with William A. Moseley, after the dissolution of which he entered into partnership with the Hon. Horatio J. Stow, until the latter's appointment to the recordership in 1840, when Mr. Marshall became the partner of the Hon. N. K. Hall, formerly of the firm of Fillmore, Hall & Haven. On Mr. Hall's appointment as judge of the county in 1841, Mr. Marshall was left to practice alone for several years, after which he formed a partnership with Alexander W. Harvey. The latter removed to New York in 1863, whereupon Mr. Marshall took his son Charles D., into partnership and finally retired from active practice in 1867.

On the 29th of February, 1838, Mr. Marshall married Miss Millicent Ann De Angelis, youngest daughter of Pascal De Angelis, one

of the pioneer settlers of central New York, resident at Holland Patent, Oneida county.

During his long connection with the city and his active participation in its local affairs, Mr. Marshall did much that will cause his memory to live in its public annals. He was one of the prime movers in the founding of the Historical society in 1836, an organization which has collected and preserved a rich mass of statistical and other information throwing light upon the past history of this section of the country. Mr. Marshall's valuable researches contributed in no small measure to the collection which holds out a rich mine of wealth for the future historian to explore. The Buffalo Cemetery Association was another important organization which took its rise at a later date in Mr. Marshall's office. As a trustee and for a time president of the Grosvenor library, he was in active co-operation with Millard Fillmore, George A. Babcock, Joseph G. Masten and others whose names are identified with the up-building of Buffalo. As trustee and president of the Buffalo Female Academy and University of Buffalo, trustee of the Society of Natural Sciences and president of the Thomas Orphan Asylum for Indian children, Mr. Marshall did good service in the public interest. Upwards of thirty years ago he was offered the appointment of commissioner to China but declined owing to ill health and other pressing engagements. The same reasons induced him to decline the proffered post of assistant postmaster general. About the year 1868 he was appointed by the United States Circuit Court United States commissioner for the northern district of New York, an office which he held up to the time of his death.

In 1851, when the late Dr. Foote withdrew from the editorship of the *Commercial*, the position was offered to Mr. Marshall, who, however, declined the active work of the editorial chair, but consented to become a regular contributor. Had Mr. Marshall chosen to enter actively into journalism, he would undoubtedly have been brilliantly successful. The following is the leading editorial of the *Commercial* of Monday evening, June 9, 1851:

"Dr. Foote left town last Thursday for Albany, to take the editorial charge of the *State Register* in that city. His departure will cause no change in the proprietorship of this paper, nor in its general course. It will continue, as heretofore, to advocate national whig principles, and oppose ultraism and fanaticism, whether north or south, while the arrangements we have made for editorial assistance will, we trust, render the paper worthy the generous support and confidence it has so long enjoyed, and which we would gratefully acknowledge. In addition to the editorial force already employed, we are happy to announce that O. H. Marshall, Esq., of this city, a gentleman distinguished for elegant scholarship and sound political sentiments, has consented to become a regular contributor. With this accession, and with the best efforts of all concerned, we confidently hope that the *Commercial Advertiser*, will be as acceptable to our patrons hereafter as it has been before"

Mr. Marshall never acquired great distinction by reason of any important law-suit, but displayed signal fidelity as well as real ability in the management of estates and trusts; proved to his clients that their interests were in safe and honest hands. A man of wide culture, refined tastes and sterling probity, Mr. Marshall did not deny to himself intellectual enjoyments in his well-earned leisure, and during the later years of his life he lived a good deal in Europe.

TRIBUTES PAID TO THE MEMORY OF MR. MARSHALL.

[From the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, July 12th, 1884.]

THE LATE O. H. MARSHALL.

Action of the Council of the University of Buffalo, the Historical Society and the Bar.

The council of the University of Buffalo met at 4:30 o'clock yesterday afternoon in the Y. M. A. Library for the purpose of taking action on the death of Mr. O. H. Marshall, Chancellor of the University. Dr. Thos. F. Rochester, as Vice-Chancellor of the University, called the meeting to order, and Dr. Charles Cary was appointed secretary. Dr. Rochester spoke briefly of the deceased as an able associate and friend. He had not only been efficient as chancellor, but had always been a friend and adviser of the faculty. He was warmly in favor of establishing a law school in connection with the University, and the speaker thought the accomplishment of such a laudable end would be a fitting tribute to his memory. He felt that he had said but little of Mr. Marshall. All who knew him would certainly regret most deeply the loss of an exemplary citizen and friend.

The Hon. James O. Putnam heartily endorsed all that had been said, and spoke of Mr. Marshall as a model gentleman, who had given a large part of his time and energy to the public.

The Hon. E. C. Sprague moved that the proceedings of this meeting be entered on the minutes of the Council of the University of Buffalo, and a copy sent to Mrs. Marshall. The motion was carried, when the meeting adjourned.

At a meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society, held last evening, for the purpose of taking action on the death of the Hon. O. H. Marshall, Mr. W. C. Bryant offered the following resolutions, which were adopted :

The Buffalo Historical Society is here assembled to pay an appropriate tribute to its late lamented counselor Orsamus H. Marshall. Mr. Marshall was one of the founders of our society, and in the roll

of its active membership, which embraced such names as Millard Fillmore, N. K. Hall, and John C. Lord, was one of the most eminent, zealous and faithful.

The results of his researches and his contributions to the department of aboriginal and pioneer literature are of exceptional and permanent value, and add lustre upon this institution whose welfare he had so deeply at heart.

He sustained every relation of life with exceeding grace and rare dignity and furnished the noblest type of a cultivated American gentleman.

His family, this society and the community at large have suffered an irreparable loss in the death of this noble and gifted man, whose memory they will always proudly and affectionately cherish.

Resolved, That our secretary furnish a copy of the foregoing and of this resolution to the family of the deceased.

IN MEMORIAM.

Action of the bar on the death of Mr. O. H. Marshall.

A large number of the members of the bar were present in the General Term room, at the City Hall this morning to do honor to the memory of the late O. H. Marshall. The meeting began shortly after 11 o'clock. Among those present were George J. Sicard, Judge Burrows, Gen. Scroggs, Gen. John C. Graves, Delevan F. Clark, Hon. James O. Putnam, J. F. Gluck, George Clinton, E. H. Movius, Geo. Gorham, John G. Milburn, M. B. Moore, James C. Beecher, Judge Sheldon, Judge Smith, Judge Hammond, Adelbert Moot, Rev. Dr. A. T. Chester, Sheldon T. Viele, Daniel H. McMillan, S. Cary Adams, Hon. E C. Sprague, Hudson H. Parke, James C. Fullerton, H. C. Day.

Mr. Sicard opened the proceedings by stating that they had been called together to express such sentiment as was fitting, and moved that Judge Daniels preside. This was carried. Judge Daniels spoke to the following effect: That the meeting was called to tender

sincere acknowledgment to the memory of Mr. Marshall. That he was one of the persons of the Erie county bar, who had won distinction, and gained a practice in the profession that did him credit. He was a sound counselor and a man of resources, fidelity of character and by those who knew him he was always regarded as one on whose opinions the greatest reliance could be placed. He was candid, fair and discharged with fidelity all the responsibilities of his profession. This man has now closed a long and creditable career. He leaves a memory behind that may be esteemed by the Erie county bar and all the citizens who knew him.

Mr. Sheldon T. Viele was made secretary and a committee consisting of George Gorham, Judge Burrows, Daniel McMillan, J. G. Milburn and D. F. Clark were appointed to draft the following memorial:

Memorial.

The life and character of Orsamus H. Marshall shall merit from his co-laborers at the bar of Erie county a marked tribute of respect and affection. Beginning professional life in Buffalo in its early days, he quickly merited and as quickly gained the confidence of the bench, the bar, and clients at home and abroad; possessing abilities of a rare character, a clear logical mind, coupled with striking qualities of strictest integrity, he soon acquired a position in the then small community which must have been a pride to himself and which might have excited the envy of older men.

But all these qualities were so blended with a modest bearing and kindly nature, that no man ever felt disposed to question the high position which he occupied in the confidence of all good citizens. In all matters of trust and those involving questions of title to real estate he was a recognized authority, and though some years have passed since he took an active part in legal matters, yet Mr. Marshall's name attached to any real estate title still stands as a fortress of security, and will for years to come be a landmark of strength and protection.

His exact and strict honesty was well known, and received as it ought, its full measure of appreciation, and helped to make him the

trusted counselor of financial institutions and monied men, and no man or corporation ever had a reason to feel that their confidence had been misplaced.

As a man of high literary attainments Mr Marshall had reached pre-eminence, and he was truly and deservedly considered an authority in everything bearing upon the history of his city and county, and the aboriginal inhabitants of Western New York; as a wise and safe counselor, as a faithful trustee of intricate trusts, as a graceful writer upon literary and historical subjects, as an upright patriotic citizen, as a true christian gentleman none excelled, and few equalled Orsamus H. Marshall, and while we are thankful that he had reached a full measure of honored years, and that he had been spared to us so long as an example of true and modest greatness, we truly mourn his loss and place upon record this tribute to his memory.

While the memorial was being prepared Hon. E. C. Sprague spoke in brief as follows:

When I look on the portraits on these walls, almost all of which represent the faces of friends of my boyhood, I feel as if they were realities; as if we who are living were nothing but fading pictures soon to be obliterated from the canvas of life. Mr. Marshall was almost the sole survivor and honored member of that old circle of lawyers. His career is worthy of serious meditation. His walk of life was absolutely without reproach He devoted a long professional career to the performance of important duties and executed responsible trusts. Those duties were well done and trusts faithfully discharged In all that relates to real estate our bar possessed no man sounder or more learned. He was a diligent and accurate scholar in the various paths of knowledge. Few men were so well versed in early explorations of the western part of the state of New York Retiring in his habits he was nevertheless a most useful and public-spirited citizen. His time was devoted to beneficiary, literary and professional interests, Mr. Marshall was an almost perfect representative type of the large and best class of American citizens who in the midst of the turmoils and scandals which so largely take time of the people, was one to keep civiliza-

tion pure and sweet as he did. He was studious, intelligent and enlightened He possessed rational piety, and unostentatious dignity of private life. It is just, therefore, that we mourn his death.

At the conclusion of Mr. Sprague's remarks, W. C. Bryant, Esq., spoke as follows:

It is difficult to speak fitly, in the first burst of grief, and in the funereal hush and shadow of death, of one whom in life we loved and cherished, and whose companionship had become in a sense essential to our happiness. Who is like unto him? Who can fill his place in that empty chamber of our hearts? This is the egotism of grief, but at a time like this there is charity even for the selfishness of sorrow. When as a mere lad I first came to Buffalo there were many eminent men here, but only three or four whom I had learned to watch afar with reverent and admiring eyes. One of these was Orsamus H. Marshall, whose writings and historical studies had always possessed for me a strange fascination. I remember my impression of the man when I first saw him, and which fully accorded with the ideal of my imagination: a stately, erect personage; an unconscious air of high breeding, not haughty, but with the grandeur of a self sustained, strong, intellectual manhood shining through him.

It was long before I was honored with the friendship of this man and learned to love him.

I knew him as a lawyer. He was not a plumed knight in the dusty arena of litigation. He was a man burdened with great trusts and responsibilities, which he apparently accepted with reluctance and discharged with marvelous skill and fidelity.

In the law relating to real property and in the grand department of equity jurisprudence I knew him as a master, thoroughly learned and equipped. I do not think his tastes and talents inclined to the practice of the law—not, at least, to the rough-and-tumble contests of the *nisi-prius* courts. He had too sensitive a conscience and was too proud to be the champion of every suitor who demanded his services for a pecuniary reward. The natural bent of his mind impelled him to desert the dusty highway of the law for the more enticing paths of literature. He was amply endowed with the

means of indulging in such tastes, but the opportunities of resorting to these favorite studies were exceeding rare. There were always kind and helpless people with large interests to protect who stood between.

Still he accomplished in his peculiar field a very considerable amount of labor. This is not, perhaps, the time or place for speaking of his achievements in this direction. It is enough to say that he was a conscientious, indefatigable, and most successful explorer in the domain of aboriginal and colonial history; that he turned an electric light on passages of that history which theretofore were dark and illegible, and that such historians as Bancroft, Parkman and others gratefully acknowledged their indebtedness to him. His literary style was admirable, terse and incisive, yet luminous and picturesque, clear and chaste as crystal. The results of his historical researches will survive centuries after the fleeting triumphs of advocate and orator are drowned in oblivion.

Mr. Marshall was a public-spirited and a benevolent man. Most of the charities that drew upon his time and purse were studiously forbidden to make any public acknowledgment.

His benefactions to the poor, to the widows and orphans, were rendered with great cheerfulness and with a delicacy that is as admirable as it is rare. He was the president of an asylum for destitute and orphaned Indian children, among other objects of his care, and who but the great Father of mercies himself knew of the extent of his tender, thoughtful, unremitting solicitude in behalf of those forlorn and hapless waifs?

Mr. Marshall sustained all the relations of life with exceeding grace and rare dignity; judicious, loving, kind, he had a heart open as day to melting charity. He was the typical American gentleman—dignified without haughtiness, courteous but not subservient, with winning graciousness of manner and observant of all the sweet humanities—a loving heart in a manly bosom.

The earthly history of Orsamus H. Marshall is finished. Not so as respects his example—the widening influence of a beneficent and beautiful life

George J. Sicard spoke of his eminent and excellent career and his great knowledge of real estate law. His exact and strict honesty was well-known. He was a man of pre-eminently high literary ability.

Mr. George Wadsworth in seconding the memorial resolutions, said:

In seconding the motion for the adoption of these resolutions I shall add but few words to the tribute which has been so justly and feelingly paid to the memory of our departed brother and friend; although I knew him well, both socially and professionally, it was not my good fortune to sustain those close and intimate relations with him, which best qualify those who survive him, to speak of his many admirable qualities and virtues. But surely, great intimacy is not absolutely necessary to enable me to pay this token of esteem and respect to the memory of the man, whose loss we deplore. For almost the whole of a long life as boy and man, he has lived among this people, he knew no home but Buffalo, he saw it grow from the insignificant village to the mighty city; here his work was done, and here he lived the life and developed the character and qualities which won the love of a whole community, whose sorrow and regrets follow him to the grave, now that he has "gone over to the majority." As we all know, Mr. Marshall's professional life was not spent in the strife of litigation, or in the turmoil of the courts; he chose rather the part of the office adviser, counselor and protector of his clients; he was eminently their care taker; and in this useful and important branch of the duties of the profession no lawyer in Buffalo excelled him; in it he made for himself, and most worthily; a name and reputation worthy of any man's emulation and ambition.

He was pre-eminently the counselor and in his care of the great interests confided to his charge and keeping, he was never found wanting; nor was it great things alone which demanded and received his watchful care and attention; the humblest client could rely upon his services as fully as the greatest, and the relatively small and insignificant matter received its proper measure of care and faithful service from his hands; faithful in great things, he was

equally faithful in little ones, and so deserved, received and retained the confidence and affection of all. But the professional life of Mr. Marshall is not all that commended him to us and to the public; he was a man of studious habits in other matters than those which relate solely to the law; his researches were not confined merely to the love of his profession, and his scholarly explorations into other fields, especially those of our local history, bore fruit in a series of papers and sketches, which were worthy of the man and the subjects of which he treated, and which, though too few and brief, challenge favorable comparison with far more ambitious papers, and so far as they go, are recognized as authority of the greatest value.

In character, Mr. Marshall always seemed to me almost, if not quite, perfect; doubtless he had his failings, and frailties, as all men have. I do not know what they were, but I think they must have been the general imperfections of the race, and not all of the man, the faults of mankind at large, and not of this particular individual, for who among us can specify any fault or imperfection of his character? No word of slander or detraction ever tarnished his fair fame, even envy itself seemed to be silent when his name was mentioned; his honor and his integrity were always absolutely unquestioned and unquestionable; no breath of suspicion ever blew upon him; calumny was dumb in his presence; and by universal acclaim he has ever been pronounced an able, upright, God-fearing gentleman. He was one of our most prominent and useful citizens, a man of whom Buffalo was proud, as well she might be; and so he lived his pure, even and noble life, and leaves behind him, now that he is gone,

> "Only those actions of the just,
> Which smell sweet and blossom in the dust."

And we may say to his sorrowing family and friends:

> "Why weep ye then for him, who, having won
> The bound of man's appointed years, at last,
> Life's blessings all enjoyed, life's labors done,
> Serenely to his final rest has passed;
> While the soft memory of his virtues yet
> Lingers like twilight hues, when the bright sun is set."

Hon. James O. Putnam then delivered the following:

Mr. Chairman: Mr. Marshall, to whose memory we are met to pay honor and reverence, discharged the trust of life to a riper age than most of his profession attain. Having passed the psalmist's limit, he has at length been relieved by the power often styled man's enemy, but which I will call his friend. Especially will I call the office of death a friendly one, when, after a reasonably long life of personal honor and public usefulness, it closes a good man's career.

Our friend survived most all his early professional cotemporaries, I do not call to mind one who can speak to us of his early legal studies. He who could have spoken most intelligently and with the sympathy of friendship, died many years ago. The brilliant Stow, tradition of whom is rapidly fading, was his early partner, and I doubt if a stronger contrast in type and methods is ever seen than their village office—for Buffalo had then hardly emerged from the chrysalis state—presented. Judge Stow, imperious, assertive, dazzling, ever relying on the intuitions of his genius; his associate unobtrusive, firm without dogmatism, avoiding publicity from instinct, carrying into his professional life those habits of study which made him profound as a lawyer and learned in every favorite specialty, never losing that poise which should distinguish the judge from the advocate. There was something grand in the storm-power of the senior partner; there was confidence and security in the learned calm of the junior.

And here I think we touch the key-note of Mr. Marshall's professional life. From temperament he was drawn to its more quiet, but not less important walks, where he early took rank as a leader. No man among us had so wide trust-relations as he, during his most active years, and the confidence of his clients and of the public in his ability and character, were absolute. Distrust of either was never even whispered.

Without dwelling upon his professional life, I would linger for a few moments upon Mr. Marshall's service to the public. Appreciation is due to a man who advances the material interests of his city, provides wings for its commerce, makes it the centre of large industries. Parks and boulevards for the poor and the rich alike,

reflect honor upon the municipal spirit, but these and palaces are but poor things disassociated from institutions which are related to the higher civilization. Strike down and out of our beautiful city its institutions of charity, its public libraries, its corporate associations in connection with art, with science and liberal learning, and what value could we place upon it? The richer it would be as reckoned on 'Change, the poorer it would be in a just estimate. Mr. Marshall largely contributed to the superior wealth of Buffalo. Its Historical society whose archives will have inestimable value for the generation to come, had its origin in his office, and much of its interest and present efficiency are due to his private and official labors in its behalf.

A few years ago an eminent New York merchant cherishing an affectionate memory of his early life in Buffalo, left a fund by will to found a free public reference library, a monument to the memory of Seth Grosvenor more honorable than pile of granite or marble

That library of 30,000 volumes, and daily increasing, is one of our distinguishing honors, and to Mr. Marshall is our city largely indebted for the scrupulous care of its fund, and for the admirable management of the institution. I do not forget that George R. Babcock, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, and L. K. Haddock, and some others I might name, shared his labors, but I know that Mr. Marshall devoted much of his thought and time to making that institution realize the purpose of its founder.

He has been of the foremost to secure higher education among us. He was one of the founders of the Buffalo Female Academy, and for many years was president of the corporation. I know of, for I witnessed his zeal in resurrecting and reorganizing the Buffalo University in 1846. He was of its council till its death, and was for years its president and chancellor.

Our struggling Society of Natural Sciences found in him a friend and helper. Not to refer especially to his relations to our institutions of charity I think this record of service reflects honor upon him and upon his profession, which, through him, is so identified with the institutional life of Buffalo But I will refer to one other relation to which he was called by the state. He was, and I think

at the time of his death, president of the Thomas Orphan Asylum for Indian children, located on the Cattaraugus reservation. His official reports to the state show how carefully he had sought the causes of the degradation of the once powerful Iroquois nation, and their remedy.

He found in the vices introduced by white men, the cause, and bringing the children under christian and moral influences, a remedy he urged upon the state to supply as a solemn duty.

Mr. Marshall was repeatedly invited to a broader public sphere. His fitness for trusts that require delicate handling, sagacity and intelligence, was appreciated by his friend President Fillmore, who tendered him the office of commissioner to China at a time when it was important to the United States to establish better commercial relations with the empire. He had no opium to force upon that people at the cannon's mouth, but we could offer them a reciprocity of legitimate trade profitable to both countries.

His health did not permit his acceptance of the trust, but that it was tendered reflected equal honor upon the President and his friend.

Judge Hall when Post-Master-General, tendered him the office of assistant, which he declined for the same reason.

There is still another sphere of service, yet in a walk so little observed by the general public that mention may properly be made of it here.

Mr. Marshall by his habit of patient investigation, and his love of historic studies, and his scholarly tastes, had rare adaptation for literary work. His numerous studies, particularly of our western history, would make a large volume, a form in which I hope they be preserved.

His papers on Champlain's Expeditions in 1613–15, on de Celeron's to the Ohio in 1749, his narrative of the expedition of the Marquis de Nonville against the Senecas in 1687, and on the building and voyage of the *Griffon* in 1679, covering the early exploring expeditions of La Salle, Hennepin and La Motte, with the history of their perilous voyage of the rivers and the lakes, and the tragic end of the *Griffon*, whose errand was more romantic and adventurous than

that of the Argonauts for the golden fleece; his elaborate paper on the visit of La Salle among the Senecas, are part of a series of Mr. Marshall's historic studies, which, if not enough for fame, have given him high rank among the annalists of the country. Perhaps nothing better illustrates Mr. Marshall's love of historic research than his paper published in the *Magazine of American History*, in 1882, of the original charter by Charles I, to his brother the Duke of York, of the territory now comprised within the limits of the state of New York.

On his last visit to Europe, Mr. Marshall explored the state paper office in London for those original crown grants. He found them on file, he states, "crisp with age, and covered with the dust of two centuries," copies of which were published, together with his statements of the origin and settlement of the several boundary controversies growing out of them. The date of the grants is 1664, 220 years from the present. But I will not pursue a path crowded with suggestion.

This brief and imperfect review will serve at least as a hint of the wide range of public service rendered by our brother, and which we may gratefully remember for the honor that service confers upon his profession.

Mr. Marshall lived a large life; there was no waste in it. He never sought political honors, but found "in the still air of quiet studies," and in his home, the happiness often sought and rarely found in the feverish atmosphere of public life. He won a greater than any official title, that of a christian gentleman.

On motion a resolution was adopted to the effect that a copy of the memorial be engrossed for presenting the family of Mr. Marshall, and all members of the bar were requested to be present at the funeral, this afternoon.

Action of the Buffalo Savings Bank.

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Buffalo Savings Bank, held at the Banking House on the 12th of July, 1884, the

following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

This Board being convened to pay their tribute of affection and respect to the memory of Orsamus H. Marshall, Esq., late one of their number, it is therefore

Resolved, That in the death of Mr. Marshall this Board has lost one of its most honored and valuable members. As the attorney and counsel of the bank for twenty-eight years, and a trustee for seven years up to the time of his death, his wise and prudent counsels, and his faithful and efficient services, have contributed largely to the prosperity and usefulness of the institution. Its depositors and this Board owe him a debt of gratitude which we cannot too strongly express. The record of his long and useful life is closed without stain or blemish, and while in common with this whole community, we mourn his loss, his memory will long be cherished and honored by us, and by all who knew him.

Resolved, That a copy of this minute of the proceedings of the Board, signed by its officers, be transmitted to the family of Mr. Marshall in token of our sincere and reverent sympathy with them. That a copy be also furnished to the daily papers of this city for publication, and that we attend his funeral.

[From the *Buffalo Express.*]

LETTER TO AN ABSENTEE.

By a rambling old Resident.

Buffalo, *July* 12, 1884.

A biography of the late Orsamus H. Marshall has been published in most of the city papers, the matter being taken from the recently issued "History of Buffalo and Erie County."

You will probably have read that brief memoir before this letter reaches you, and I'm sure you will say to yourself, as I said to myself on reading it "How little this really tells me about the O. H. Marshall that I knew."

Yet I suppose it is a very fair biography, as such things go in county histories, and it doubtless gave all the details of Mr. Mar-

shall's career that he, reticent, modest, unobtrusive, and true gentleman that he was—cared to trouble the public with.

The cold facts so published, however, are valuable material. They constitute the dry skeleton upon which some loving, yet faithful biographer could frame the living picture of a model American citizen, such as this good man was, as you and I knew him. I hope you at least, will live to read such a real and adequate biography of the late O. H. Marshall.

I believe that the general estimate of his character was the correct one, the one that you and I and all who knew him well also formed—to this effect: that in his daily life was seen an almost perfect type of American citizenship.

If I were asked to give the best idea I could of this man's life, in a single characteristic, I should say that his had been a life of probity.

Rectitude and uprightness are fair synonyms for this jewel of a word, and Integrity means almost the same.

All these are words which must occur to every one who knew Mr. Marshall well as proper terms to use in describing that upright man.

Integrity particularly denotes a whole hearted honesty, and especially that which excludes all injustice that might favor one's self. The word integrity has a peculiar reference to uprightness in material dealings, and "the execution of trusts for others."

That last phrase might have been used on Mr. Marshall's business cards, for it exactly describes the nature of his professional work during the greater part of his connection with the bar.

Yet, after all I must give the preference to probity as the one word which accurately defines our friend's public and private life; for "Probity denotes unimpeachable honesty and virtue, shown especially in the performance of those obligations, called imperfect, which the laws of the state do not reach and can not enforce."

That's the sort of man that O. H. Marshall was. He was upright and virtuous, not out of respect for the law but because it was his nature so to be.

I suppose he was employed in the execution of confidential trusts to a greater extent than any other lawyer in Buffalo, and the

breath of suspicion never for an instant beclouded the shining surface of his professional reputation.

A confidence reposed in him was never betrayed. A trust placed in his hands was safe beyond doubt; and yet not like the buried talent, for he used it for the benefit of its owner with all the diligence that prudence would permit.

He was the beau ideal of the old-fashioned family friend and man of business, exactly the man to have the care and custody of delicate and important trusts.

Mr. Marshall was notably a scholar as well as a Christian gentleman—to vary slightly the hackneyed phrase. He was the author of many historical monographs, and his tastes inclined him especially to antiquarian biographical research.

He would cheerfully spend weeks in verifying a date to the very day, and months in making sure of the correct spelling of a name, before putting to the press a modest pamphlet of thirty-two pages. To be accurate, indeed, was one of his leading traits. He loved the right because it was right.

But Mr. Marshall was by no means a Dryasdust in his literary style. His sentences were carefully polished, it is true; but they were none the less pointed and incisive for that. He was a ready writer withal, and well up in the topics of the day.

To my thinking, however, one of the most admirable traits which made Mr. Marshall a man of mark was his perfect command of himself and of all his faculties under all circumstances. He was always equal to the emergency.

He was conscientious to a degree in the performance of any public duty imposed upon him. He rarely needed a substitute. He was not a statesman, because he was not called to duty in that direction. He had plenty of the stuff of which statesmen are made. But, while not a statesman, our friend was, as Pope wrote of Addison:

> "Yet friend to truth; of soul sincere;
> In action faithful, and in honor clear;
> Who broke no promise, serv'd no private end,
> Who gained no title, and who lost no friend."

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